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The Editor welcomes the free expression in these pages of genuine opinions on any matters of interest relating to Wales—its modern developments as well as its ancient history—but disclaims responsibility alike for the opinions themselves, and for the manner in which they are expressed.

Y Gymmrodor.

VOL. XXXV. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1925.

A Neglected Welsh Triad.

BY

ALFRED ANSCOMBE, F.R.HIST. S.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

THE Welsh Historical Triads have never been edited collectively. Consequently the variant readings have not been properly presented and the mistakes made in transcription have not received their respective antidotes. Neither has the explicatory and, at times, unconscious punning of mediæval scribes been appraised at its true value. The complex obscurity in which the student of our racial origins is involved is extremely serious. But its existence is at last becoming recognised.

In the *Preface* to his recently published work *History of the Later Roman Empire* (from A.D. 395 to A.D. 565) Professor Bury lays stress upon the fact that we know less of Britain at the period of Germanic invasion than of any other part of the Roman Empire. And he remarks that Britain seems to be the only exception to the rule that the change of masters in the western provinces of the Empire was not the result of anything that could be called a cataclysm. "The German peoples, who were much fewer in numbers than is often imagined, at first

settled in the provinces as dependants, and a change which meant virtually conquest was disguised for a shorter or longer time by their recognition of the nominal rights of the Emperor. The consequence was that the immense revolution was accomplished with far less violence and upheaval than might have been expected. This is the leading fact which it is the chief duty of the historian to make clear."

In so far as Anglian Britain is concerned that duty cannot as yet be claimed to have been realised by any scholar who has undertaken to play the part of an historian. Much less can it be supposed to have been fulfilled. The output of historical work in our country, when the investigation of folk-origins is concerned, can only be described as racial. The tendency to select the truths that countenance the compartment-method of research and either support restricted racial views, or are not definitely opposed thereto, is universal. The consequences of this are unmistakable and deplorable. English historians, for instance, are content to leave the investigation of the early history of Mercia severely alone. The racial and linguistic problems that that kingdom and its folk present are so disquieting that they prefer to acquiesce in one-hundred-and-fifty years of silence rather than avail themselves of traditions the sources of which are neither English nor Western Germanic. One consequence of this is that investigation into that side of Insular Germanic life which is neither English nor Saxon, and the traditions of which have been preserved for us by the Cymro and the Norman, is scoffed at and derided. The racial aloofness of the historian has led him to forget that our England is the product of an historical process and that, notwithstanding the fact that Roman Britain could not carry its Roman traditions of law and language onward into the

Middle Ages because its deadly enemies had overpowered its civilisation, nevertheless, in the words of Mr. R. G. Collingwood, "But for these facts England would to-day be speaking a Latin tongue, though in race she would be no less and no more Teutonic than she is"; *Roman Britain* (1913) p. 19. If *Germanic* be substituted for "Teutonic" I am in full agreement with Mr. Collingwood's conclusions.

The mental attitude of the Angle towards this problem is couched upon the conviction that there were no Germanic settlers in Britannia till A.D. 449, when the Saxons came and slew all the "Celts," or drove them away. This fatuity has developed into neglectful scorn of true racial conditions and into facile doubt in dealing with what it is not thought desirable to believe and apply: *amman pob anwybod*. This neglect and inefficient facility are supinely regarded as proofs of scholarly fitness, and we go on, generation after generation, accepting the opinions of scholars who pretend that all is known and wish it to be believed that nothing is left to be discovered. But that is not true, and, as I asserted in *The Times Literary Supplement* of the 9th of October, 1919, "the material awaits the worker's hand. It is enormous in mass, priceless in value, infinitely interesting in its nature and variety. In order to reduce this material to utility and assimilate it, what are required are faith and confidence and willingness to work, in addition to learning and scholarship."

Of these desiderata the third, namely, willingness to work, is not discoverable. In the closing years of a long, busy, and scholarly life, the late Professor Skeat took profound interest in the study of English place-names. He was much hampered in his research work by the fact that the places named and indicated in the Anglo-Saxon

charters collected and edited by Dr. Birch in the "Cartularium Saxonicum" which was published twenty-five years ago, were neither listed nor indexed. To what is this negligence to be attributed? I will let Professor Joseph Wright answer. In the *Introduction* to the second edition of his "Old English Grammar" (1914), p. viii., he revealed the disappointment he felt at the non-fulfilment of promises made by other scholars to assist him: "The simple fact is that most people in this country who are competent to undertake such work either cannot or will not face the drudgery that it entails."

Similarly on the 7th of November, 1917, Professor Flinders Petrie read a paper before the British Academy on "Neglected British History". It is demonstrable that this charge of neglect was brought with justice and propriety. In advancing it Professor Petrie was partly dependent upon Geoffrey of Monmouth whose work Professor R. W. Chambers has well and truly styled "one of the most influential books ever written in this country". But Insular scholars, as Professor Chambers has pointed out, have been meekly waiting for 336 years for an edition of Geoffrey Arthur's "Historia Regum Britanniae" which shall be independent of the German edition that Jerome Commelin of Heidelberg issued in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and which shall take scholarly account of the texts of the thirty-four manuscripts of Geoffrey's work which are preserved in the British Museum Library.

With all this lassitude (and more) in view I wish to point to just one of the Welsh Historical Triads which would very materially help any open-minded students of Mercian origins who would but make diligent use of it. The particular Triad is that of the "Tri Unben Llys Arthur". It is a very ancient one and its value where Mercian and South Saxon historical legends are concerned

has never been detected. The following are the sources upon which I rely. I am prefixing the abbreviation that I shall employ when I refer to the different collections in which the text appears or is quoted.

ABER.—The Hengwrt-Peniarth manuscript.

HERG.—The Red Book of Hergest.

LLANEG.—The Book of Llanegwad.

PANT.—The Book of Paul Panton of Plasgwyn.

K. AC O.—The Mabinogi of “Killhwch ac Olwen”.

RHON.—The Mabinogi of “The Dream of Rhonabwy”.

G. AP E.—The Mabinogi of “Gereint ap Erbin”.

I have set the oldest document first. But the text of ABER. is faulty in several particulars. In other collections we get variations and illuminative additions, and in the Mabinogion two of the *Tri Unben* are cited, and additional information about them which is both valuable and useful, is purveyed.

II. THE AUTHORITIES.

§ i.—ABER.

The oldest text of the Triad of the *Tri Unben Llys Arthur* is to be found in the Peniarth MS. No. 45A. This is now in the National Library of Wales, at Aberystwyth, and I am indebted to the kindness of the Librarian—Mr. John Ballinger, M.A.,—for photographs (positive, negative, and enlarged) of the page which preserves the Triad. The manuscript is water-stained and could not be reproduced well. The page measures approximately 5½ inches by 3½. It is numbered 294 and has 27 written lines. The manuscript was formerly in the Hengwrt collection, No. 536 (*olim* 29). It comprises Geoffrey of Monmouth’s “*Historia Brittonum*” (*sic*); the Pedigrees of the Welsh Saints; the Pedigrees of the Men of the North; and the Triads of King Arthur and his Men.

Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans assigns the MS. to the late thirteenth century.¹

§ ii. Among the scribal peculiarities of this MS. are the tall *a*, which is so like a *d*,² and the tied *ll*, which invites mis-reading as *n*. To the latter scribal peculiarity is attributable the error made in reading which is presented in William Forbes Skene's edition of the Triads of Arthur and his Men.³ Skene's text yields "uordwytwyn". In this *-twn* should be *-twll*. The text is given at the end of this chapter.

§ iii.—HERG.

The Triad also appears in the *Triod* in the Red Book of Hergest in the Jesus College (Oxon.) Library, MS. No. 1. Except a few of its columns this MS. was written in the last quarter of the fourteenth and in the first quarter of the fifteenth centuries.⁴ These Triads were published by Professor Rhys⁵ who pronounced the earlier edition, namely *Cyfres II* in the "Myvyrian Archaiology," to be

¹ *Vide* 'Report on MSS. in the Welsh Language', Hist. MSS. Commission, vol. i, pt. ii (1899), *Peniarth*, p. 379.

² Cp. 'Early Welsh Script', by W. M. Lindsay, M.A., Oxford, 1912 (St. Andrew's University Publications, No. X.). In the Berne Gospels which were written early in the ninth century, *a* is very much like *d*; cf. p. 50, plate v. On p. 5, Professor Lindsay refers to the presentation of *ch* for *h*: e.g., *Gechennam*, *chippocritis*, *vechimenter*. These instances occur in the St. Chad Gospels which were written in the eighth century, or the ninth; and this digraph is also found in the Berne MS., v. pp. 15 and 16.

³ 'The Four Ancient Books of Wales' (1868). By William Forbes Skene. *Vide* Appendix, vol. ii, pages 456 to 464 (even numbers); from the Hengwrt MS. No. 536. It is the ninth Triad in this collection.

⁴ *Vide* Mr. J. G. Evans's 'Report' (note 1, above) vol. ii, part i (1902), *Jesus Col.*, Oxford, p. 5.

⁵ In *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. iii (1880), pp. 52-63. Also cp. Thomas Stephens's letter on the Triads in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd S., viii, (1862) pp. 64, 65. Stephens assigned the Red Book Triads to the mid-fourteenth century; the first *Cyfres* in the 'Myvyrian Archaiology'

carelessly reproduced, but deferred marking the errors "until all the important versions have been brought together". This has not yet been done. In the first edition of the "Myvyrian Archaiology"⁶ the word "Chaedyrleith" makes its appearance in this Triad, and it is followed by the numeral 4, vol. ii., p. 13. The foot-note corrects this to *Chaedyrieith*. In the second edition p. 397, the mis-reading is followed by the figure 4, but there is no explanatory foot-note. This error was repeated by Professor Rhys in 1880 (*vide* my note 5, *supra*), but corrected by him in 1887 (*vide* my note 7, *infra*).

to the mid-fifteenth century; and the third *Cyfres* to the sixteenth century. A few of the Historical Triads are quoted in poems of the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

This is the only reference to the Triads listed in D. R. Thomas's 'Alphabetical Index to the First Four Series of *Archæologia Cambrensis*' (1846-1884). It was published in 1892. In Francis Green's 'Alphabetical Index to the Fifth Series' (1902) the word Triad does not occur.

⁶ (A). 'The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales': collected out of Ancient MSS. Poetry: vol. i (1801); Prose: vol. ii (1801), vol. iii (1807). *Triodd Ynys Prydain allan o Lyvyr Mr. R. Vaughan o'r Hengwrt*, numbered i-xcii; vol. ii, pp. 1-19. *T. Y. P. allan o'r Llyvyr Coch o Hergest*, numbered i to lx, pp. 1-22 (at foot of each). *Triodd y Meirch* numbered i-xi, pp. 20-22. *Triodd Y. P.* numbered 1-126, pp. 57-75. *Amrywiaethau i'r Triodd*, pp. 75-79; *A. i'r T. y Meirch*, pp. 79 and 80.

(B). The second edition (1870) with additional notes, pp. i-xxvi, 1-1247. The collections of the Triads appear as follows: *Cyfres I* (92 Triads) pp. 388-394. *Triodd y Meirch* (11 Triads) p. 394. *Cyfres II* (60 Triads) pp. 395-399. *Cyfres III* (126 Triads) pp. 400-411. *Amrywiaethau i'r Triodd Blaenorol*, pp. 411-414.

⁷ 'The Welsh Triads as they are given in the Red Book of Hergest in the Library of Jesus College, Oxford'. Ed. by John Rhys, M.A. and J. Gwenogvryn Evans, in the 'Text of the Mabinogion and other Welsh Tales from the Red Book of Hergest' (1887), pp. 297-308.

The Red Book gives 60 historical Triads in all. They are not numbered in the MS. Our Triad is printed on p. 303, lines 12, 13 and 14. On p. 319 Professor Rhys annotated *chaedyrieith* thus: "At first sight the [first] *i* looks like a regular *l*, but closer examination will show the top half of the would-be *l* to be an addition".

§ iv. Now, why did the early scribe seek to interpolate an *l* and why is *Caedreith* spelt in that curious way? The Red Book Triad makes no reference to Porthfawr the father of “*Caedreith*” and the introduction of *Caedyrieith* mab Seidi exhibits mnemonic confusion with Triad 90 of *Cyfres I*. The omission of Porthfawr is a serious one. Moreover the mis-spelling of his son “*Caedreith*’s” name and the mis-attribution of Seidi as *Caedreith*’s father are inexcusably erroneous.

§ v.—LLANEG.

The third collection of Triads in the “*Myvyrian Archaeology*” (1801) presents a curious addition to what I prefer to regard as the true text. On p. 57 we are informed that—“*Y Trioedd canlynol a gymmerwyd allan o Lyfr ysgrifenedig y diweddar Barchedig Mr. Richards o Lanegwad yn Ystrad Tywi, a fu ym menthyg gyda’r Parchedig Mr. T. Walters, o Landocha ym Morganwg, gennyf fi Iolo Morganwg.*” The Triad appears as No. 114 in this collection (ed. 1, vol. ii., p. 74; ed. 2, p. 410), and after reciting it (as given below) the *Cyfres* continues:

§ vi. “*sef oeddent yn Dywysogion yn Berchennogion Gwlad a Chyfoeth, a gwell oedd genddynt no hynny aros yn Farchogion yn Llys Arthur, gan y bernid hynny yn bennaf ar bob anrhydedd a bonheddigeiddrwydd, a ellid wrth a gair y Tri Chyfiawn Farchawg.*”

§ vii. This is rendered as follows in the notes to Lady Charlotte Guest’s translation of the *Mabinogion* (1848): “because they were princes possessing territory and dominion in preference to which they remained as knights at the Court of Arthur, as that was considered the chief

of honour and gentility in the opinion of the Three Just Knights ”.

§ viii.—PANT.

A manuscript formerly in the possession of Mr. Paul Panton of Plas Gwyn provided the editors of the first edition of the “*Myvyrian Archaeology*” with the text of *Cyfres I.*⁸ This Panton MS. is believed to have been transcribed by the Rev. Evan Evans, c. 1780.⁹ It was numbered 13.

§ ix.—K. AC O.

In the Mabinogi of “*Kilhwch ac Olwen*,” in HERG., we may find among the names of the warriors that Cilhwech mab Cilydd mab Celyddon Wledig appealed to¹⁰—(1) Ffleudur Fflam Wledic; (2) Gobrwy mab Echel Uordwyttwll; (3) Echel Uordwyttwll himself; (4) Llary mab Kasnar Wledic.

§ x.—RHON.

In the “*Dream of Rhonabwy*” (in HERG.) we find among the counsellors of King Arthur, Gobrwy mab Echel Vorddwyttwll, Llary mab Casnar Wledig, Fleuddur Fflam and Carieith mab Seidi.¹¹

It is noteworthy that Casnar Wledig was assassinated in A.D. 448 and that Celyddon Wledig was born on June the 16th, A.D. 364, at mid-day, during a wonderful eclipse of the sun. Cilydd, the son of Celyddon Wledig, married

⁸ *Vide* ed. 1 (1801) vol. ii, p. 77, No. xv; ed. 2 (1870) pp. 389, 412, No. 15.

⁹ *Vide* J. G. Evans's *Report* (*u. s.* note 1), vol. ii, pt. iii (1905), *Panton*, pp. 817, 818.

¹⁰ *Vide* ‘Text of the Mabinogion’ (*u. s.* note 7) (i) p. 106, l. 22; (ii) p. 107, l. 4; (iii) p. 107, l. 5; (iv) p. 107, l. 23.

¹¹ *Vide* ‘Text of the Mabinogion’, p. 160: *ffleudur fflam*, l. 2; *karieith mab seidi*, l. 5.

a daughter of Anllawdd Wledig, by Gwen, daughter of Cunedda Wledig. Another of Anllawdd's daughters, Eigra, was mother of King Arthur, who was born in the year after the appearance of the awe-inspiring comet of A.D. 443. Arthur was slain in A.D. 492.

§ xi.—G. AP E.

In the Mabinogi of Gereint the son of Erbin four of the pages at King Arthur's Court are named. They are—
 “Cadyrieith mab Porthawr Gandwy, ac Amhreu [MS. presents *-en*] mab Bedwyr, ac Amhar mab Arthur a Goreu mab Cystennyn.”¹²

¹² Vide 'Text of the Mabinogion', p. 246, l. 18. The name *Cadyrieith* occurs without affiliation on p. 258, l. 15, and p. 286, ll. 24 and 27. “Cadyrieith vab Porthawr Gandwy” occurs on p. 246, l. 18.

III. THE TEXTS.

ABER.	HERG.	LLANEG.	PANT.	K. AC O.	RHON.	G. AP E.
Goronwy	Grouw	Goronwy	Gowronwy	Gobrwy	Gobrwy	
m. Echell	uab Echel	ab Echel	m. Echel	m. Echel	m. Echel	
Uordwyttwl		Forddwyttwl	Forddwyttwl	Vordwyttwl	Uordwyttwl	
a Chadreith		a Chadraith	a Chadeeit			Cadyrieith
m. Porthuawr		ab Porthor	m. Porthawr			uab Porthawr
Gadu		Godo	Gadw			Gandwy.
a Ffleidwr	a Ffleudwr	a Ffleidwr	a Ffleudwr	Ffleudwr	Ffleudwr	
Fflam.	Fflam	Fflam	Fflam	Fflam	Fflam	
	uab Godo	mab Godo		Wledic		
	a Chaedyrieith					
	uab Seidi					
Triad xv.	Triad xxvi.					
"Myv. Arch."	"Myv. Arch."					
Vol. ii. p. 4 :	Vol. ii. p. 13 :					
<i>Echel,</i>	<i>Ffleudwr</i>					
<i>Gadu</i>						
<i>Ffleidwr</i>						
<i>Godo</i>						
Note 3 : <i>Ffleidwr</i>						

§ xii. Having brought the variants together I will now submit my reading of the text of the Triad. It is as follows :

xv. Tri Unben Llys Arthur: Goronwy mab Echel Uordwyawl a Cha[l]dreith mab Porthuawr Uandw a Ffleid ur Fflam Gwledic mab Godo.

My rendering of these lines is—

Three Sovereign Princes of the Court of Arthur: Garnwio son of Ecel the Seafarer; and Aldrēth the son of Portimâr of Mandu[essedum, *i.e.*, Mancetter]; and Duke Flēd the Flam[and] the son of God[mund].

IV. THE PRINCES COMMEMORATED.

- i. Arthur.
- ii. *Echel Uordwyawl*: Ecel the Seafarer.
- iii. *Goronwy*: Garnwio son of Ecel.
- iv. *Porthuawr Uandw*: Portimâr of Mancetter.
- v. *Ca[l]dreith*: Aldrēth son of Portimâr.
- vi. *Godo*: Godmund.
- vii. *Ffleid ur Fflam Gwledic*: Duke Flēd the Fleming.

ARTHUR.

§ xiii. Of the identity of the Cornovian king at whose Court the sons and successors of the three Insular Germanic kings were trained in knightly service there should be no doubt. But there is a very complex problem awaiting the attention of any students of our island story who will give humble consideration to it. The King Arthur mab Uthyr Pendragon mab Cystennin Corneu of Cymric history¹³ is not the “Artus Konung af Bertangenland” of the “Thidreks saga af Bern.”¹⁴ Neither can

¹³ See my Paper on ‘Some Old Welsh Pedigrees’, in *I’ Cymmrodor*, vol. xxiv (1913), pp. 74-85.

¹⁴ *I’de The ‘Wilkina Saga’*, ed. by J. Peringskiöld, 1715.

the King Arthur who, according to Malory, married Guenever the daughter of King Leodegrance of Cameliard be the same as Arthur mab Uthyr.¹⁵

§ xiv. "Leodegrance" is a trouvère's presentation of a latinisation of the Germanic and O.E. name Leodegar; *sc. Leodegaranus*. "Cameliard" presents Brythonic *c* for O.E. *h*, according to rule, and the district in Norfolk that has shrunk into the hundred of Humbleyard is intended.

§ xv. Our King Arthur mab Uthyr Pendragon was born in the year after the appearance of the great and awe-inspiring comet of A.D. 443.¹⁶ In his fifteenth year—*i.e.*, in A.D. 459, he became *Dux Bellorum* and in A.D. 470 he won the victory of the *Mons Hagonicus*, *i.e.*, Aconbury in Herefordshire.¹⁷ The MSS. yield *badonicus* [with *b :: h* and *d :: g*]. In A.D. 492 Arthur was defeated and slain at Camlan.

§ xvi. One of King Arthur's earliest enemies was Hradil the king of the Gautas of Northumberland. In O.E. this prince is styled "Hræthel the Gēat," in accordance with dialect. In Arthurian Romance he appears as Cradelmas, Cradelment, King of North Wales¹⁸

¹⁵ In Bk. I, ch. xv of the 'Morte D'Arthur', we read that King Rience of North Wales made great war upon King Leodegrance of Cameliard. In ch. xvi, we are told that King Ban and his brother King Bors went into the land of Cameliard and rescued its king, after which Arthur fell in love with Leodegrance's daughter Guenever. In III. i, the wedding is arranged. In X, xxxvi, we read of two knights of Camiliard, cousins of Queen Guenever, named Sir Guy and Sir Garaunt. *Bān*, *Bors(ena)*, *Leodegar + anus*, *Guy*, *Garant* and *Guinever* are all Germanic names.

¹⁶ The comet of 443 is mentioned in Geoffrey's 'H.R.B.', VIII, xv. It is synchronised therein with the death of Aurelius Ambrosius.

¹⁷ *Vide* my Paper on 'Local Names in the *Arthuriana* in the *Historia Brittonum*; *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*. Bd. V (1904) S. 103-123. The facile assumption that the Brython would have called Aque Sulis "Mons Badonicus" in the sixth century is absurd.

¹⁸ *Vide* the 'Morte D'Arthur', Book I, chapters x, xii and xiii.

(= Cumbria) and also as Tradilyvaut [with $t :: c^{19}$ and $u :: g^{20}$]. "Tradil y uaut" indicates Cradil y Gaut. The initial c for h is Brythonic and quite regular: ep. *comm*, *Catu* and *Cuno* with their O.E. cognates *hām*, *heathu* and *Hun*.

§ xvii. Hrâthel the Gêat's first wife was a sister of the Theodric who was king of the Franks in Widsith-Hama's day.²¹ Theodric actually reigned over Mæringaburg for 30 *missera* (i.e., half-years²²) after the death of his own father's brother Eormanric, the king of the Gôtas of Old Saxony, and he died in A.D. 457.²³ Insular

¹⁹ The scribal confusion of t and c is frequent. In his *Introduction* to the text of the eighth century Latin and Anglo-Saxon Glossary (1890), Mr. J. H. Hessels gives six instances of t for c ; v. p. xxxvii. This is also found in Gildas and I believe it to be at the root of our difficulties with respect to the *Truculensis Portus* in the 'Agricola' of Tacitus. *Truculensis*, with $T :: C$ and $c :: t$, misrepresents *Crutubensis*, a form of "Rhutupium".

²⁰ For scribal errors presenting g/u confusion ep. the following: "exugiae" for *exuuiae*; "frigula :: friuola"; Pleumund :: Plegmund; "flg" for *flu(uius)* about 20 times in Bertram's Map of Britannia; "Legministre" :: *Leuministre*; "Meigh" :: *Mawn*. For the documentation of these scribal errors *vide* 'Notes and Queries', 12 S. viii, p. 517 (June 25, 1921). The errors extend from the eighth century to the thirteenth.

²¹ The probability of this depends upon my identifications (1) of Herthegn; (2) of Herthegn's son Herbort, and (3) of Herbort's sister's son Boppe from Tenelant, with Hrethel, Hrethel's son Herebeald and Herebeald's sister's son Beowa, i.e. Beowulf. We are indebted to 'Biterolf', to the 'Vilkina Saga' and to 'Beowulf' for these genealogical facts. See my note in *Notes and Queries*, 11 S. XII, p. 133 (August 21, 1915).

²² In the old poem known as 'Deor's Lament' which is preserved in the tenth-century Codex Exoniensis we get the statement: "Theodric alte thritig wintra Mæringaburg; thaet wæs monegum enth"—i.e. Theodric owned Mæringaburg for thirty winters; that was known to many. The period is doubled and we must understand thirty *missera*, or half-years—namely from A.D. 442 to A.D. 457.

²³ I date Theodric's death in 457 because he was ruler of the Franks and must have preceded Hilderic with whom the unlegendary history of the Franks actually begins. Hilderic was ruling in 458.

Saga, *sc.* "Beowulf," says that Hæthcyn, Hræthel's son and Beowulf's uncle, accidentally killed his own brother Herebeald. Continental Saga²⁴ says that Herbort (*i.e.*, Herebeald) the uncle of Boppe from Teneland (*i.e.*, Beowa or Beowulf) accidentally slew a brother, fled the wrath of his father Herthegn (*i.e.*, Hræthel), and went to the Court of his mother's brother, Theodric. After a time Herbort or Herebeald was sent by Theodric to Bertangenland (the *g* here=our *y*) to woo Hilda, the daughter of King Artus, as a bride for his uncle Theodric. Consequently, Artus and his father-in-law Leodegar were ruling locally in Britain before A.D. 457; and, moreover, before that year Artus of Britannialand himself had a marriageable daughter.

§ xviii. Now Arth- is one vocable and Art- is another. Cymric Arth- indicates earlier Art-, while Alemannic Art- points to original Ard-. In "P.P."²⁵ we get 17 names which begin with Ard-; 4 whose headword is Erd- (< Ardi); 21 whose headword is Art- and 14 which present Ort. In Searle²⁶ we may find 8 with Ard-; 6 with

²⁴ *Vide* Wilhelm Grimm's review of the 'Biterolf' in his 'Die Deutsche Heldensage' (1829), chap. 45, pp. 123-153. The references to King Artus of Britannialand do not occur in the 'Biterolf'. They are to be found in the 'Vilkina Saga'; *vide* Grimm (*u. s.*) chap. 81, pp. 175-183. For a most illuminating review of the Dietrich-Artus-Herbert tale see 'Traces of Matriarchy in Germanic Hero-Lore', by Albert William Aron, Instructor in German at the University of Wisconsin (1920), pp. 28, 29.

²⁵ Under 'P.P.' I refer to the 'Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli Augiensis Fabariensis', ed. Paulus Piper (1884) in *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*. This work is of the utmost importance to all who wish to study Insular Germanic names of men and places open-mindedly.

²⁶ *Vide* 'Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum: A List of Anglo-Saxon Proper Names from the time of Bede to that of King John', by William George Searle, M.A., 1897. This work is most useful and is a monument of industry.

Art-, Arth-; 25 with Ord-; and 3 with Ort-. The possibility of Insular confusion of Gmc. Art- with Brythonic Arth- is great.

§ xix. As I have already pointed out²⁷ the "Notitia Dignitatum" clearly indicates that, at one time, the first two stations at the eastern end of the Wall of Hadrian were occupied by cohorts that had been originally recruited from the Lingones and the Cornovii. The first name is presented in the Insular form "Lengones"; the second is the Brythonic representative of Celtic *Cornavii* and it yields primary *ō* for Celtic *ā*, according to rule. The Old Welsh *ou* points to *oues*, the nom. plural of *u*-stems; cf. the Gaulish *Lugoves*²⁸. The Roman Wall is believed to have been completed by A.D. 210. But the preservation of the folk-names of the Lengones and the Cornovii right down to A.D. 400, at least, is no proof that those tribes at that date were contributing their quota to the regiments that bore their respective ethnic names. Mr. G. L. Cheesman²⁹ renders us aware that the names of cohorts and *numeri* no longer had tribal value or connexion in the fourth century. He says: "in the second century the cohorts and *alae* of the Augustan system, with certain definite and limited exceptions, were recruited locally from the provinces in which they were stationed, without any attempt to justify the ethnical titles which they still bore."

§ xx. The Cyrenecester near the Wall³⁰ coupled with

²⁷ *Ide I' Cymmrodor*, 1919, § 35, p. 181.

²⁸ *Ide* 'An Introduction to Early Welsh', by John Strachan, LL.D. (1909), p. 23, par. 27 (*b*).

²⁹ *Ide* 'The Auxiliaries of the Roman Imperial Army', by G. L. Cheesman, M.A. (1914), p. 85.

³⁰ *Ide* 'John of Wallingford' (†1258) in 'Church Historians of England' (ii, pt. 2), ed. and tr. by Joseph Stevenson (1854) p. xviii (note) and p. 530. Cp. also 'The Name of Cerdic' in *I' Cymmrodor* (1919), vol. xxix, p. 181-2.

the Lengones and Cornovii; and the Cyrenecester in Gloucestershire, which was previously called Corinium and which was the DuroCornovium of early Roman times, certainly link up King Arthur, the descendent of Ceri the Tall of Lengonia, with the district between the Walls. The bronze tablet found at Cilurnum (see Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 1895, p. 267) has a special bearing upon this question inasmuch as it records the granting of Roman citizenship to the *emeriti* of Continental cohorts serving in Britain in the time of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138 to 161).

ECEL THE SEAFARER.

§ xxi. ABER. yields "Echell" but all the other texts present *Echel*. The aspiration of the medial *c* has resulted in a pun: "echel" means an 'axle-tree'. The epithet applied to this prince varies. It should be—*Uordwyawl*. Cp. *uordwytwll*, *om.*, *forddwydtwll*, *uorddwytwll*, *vorddwyttwll*, *vorddwyttwll*.

These variants point to *uordwydwl*, a misreading of *uordwyawl*, the lenated, mediæval form of *mordwyol* 'seafaring'. The late Professor Kuno Meyer believed that the word that is actually indicated is *forddwydtwll* and to that he assigned the meaning 'with perforated thigh'.^{30b} We will return to this presently.

§ xxii. Echel is occasionally referred to in Arthurian romance. In the 'Brut y Brenhinoed' we read of a prince variously named Echel, Achel, and even Achilles. He is styled "Brenhin Denmare". In the 'Historia Regum Britanniae' (IX. xii.) Geoffrey Arthur gives a list of princes, prelates and noblemen who were invited to attend the coronation of King Arthur at CairLeon in A.D. 473. Among them were Lot, King of

^{30b} *Vide* the Glossary to Professor Strachan's work (note 28, *supra*), p. 258, *Echel*, and p. 276, *twll*.

Norway, and "Aschillius", King of Dacia. This Aschillius and a later king of Norway named "Olbrict" both met death at Camlan according to Geoffrey. If we remember that in the *Additamenta Nennii* in the 'Historia Brittonum'³¹ the kingdom of Northumbria is spoken of as "Regnum Nordorum" we shall be able to understand the mistaken ascription of Lot and Olbrict (i.e., Æthelberct) to the kingdom of Norway. Æthelberht, *Rex Nordorum*, was the great-grandfather of the King Ida who died in A.D. 559. As the battle of Camlan was fought in 492 there would not appear to be any chronological or genealogical difficulty in dating Ida's death 67 years after that of "Olbrict" whom I identify with Æthelbert, Ida's third ancestor.

§ xxiii. Neither "Achilles" nor "Aschillius" has any real claim upon us and we may cling to "Echel," who is called "Rex Dacorum" by Geoffrey.³² This aspirated, punning form of *Ecel* points to *Ecil* > *Acil* and thereby accounts for the quasi-learned form "Achilles". In the *Notitia Dignitatum*³³ we are told that the First Ælian Cohort of Dacians was quartered at Amboglanna, near the Wall of Hadrian and probably at Burdoswald.³⁴

³¹ *Vide* Mommsen's edition (1884) cap. lxx, p. 208, *Chronica Minora*, III; "Rex Nordorum" and "Regnum Nordorum" occur three times collectively.

³² In Geoffrey's 'H.R.B.' we get "Aschillius rex Dacorum",; IX. xii; X, ix; XI, ii. In the 'Ystorya Brenhined y Brytanyeit', ed. Rhys and Evans (from the Red Book of Hergest, *supra*, note 7) and reproduced by Professor Strachan (*supra*, note 28) we get "Echel brenhin Denmarc"; p. 162. l. 12; p. 179, l. 22; p. 192, l. 16.

³³ *Vide* 'Notitia Dignitatum utriusque Imperii', ed. Otto Seeck (1876) p. 410, for an important item connecting the Daci with the Lengones and the Cornavii in Britain "Sub dispositione Viri Spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum . . . per Lineam Valli". "Tribunus Cohortis Primæ Æliæ Dacorum: Amboglanna". Cp. note 30, *supra*.

³⁴ *Vide* 'Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum', VII, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Latinae*, ed. Æmiliius Hübner, 1873: Amboglannæ, No. 1291.

§ xxiv. Achillius was called King of Dacia because he was ruler of certain tribes of Dani who were asserted by twelfth-century legendists to be Greeks and who were equated with the Daci! In the *Notæ Uberiores* to the 'Historia Danica' of Saxo Grammaticus³⁵ there is an interesting note in which are discussed some of the reasons why Daci, Dani, and Græci are pretended to be of the same racial stock, and why Antenor was regarded as the king from whom the Daci drew their origin. Dr. Velschow, who prepared the note cited, unfortunately knew nothing about the Greeks of the Rhine,³⁶ and he dismissed the "etymologiarum lusus et fallaciæ" without accounting for the racial claims he derided and rejected.

§ xxv. We are now confronted by the question—What personal name does the mediæval Welsh "Echel" indicate? The name of Echel is not Celtic. Moreover, it is the name of an independent prince who was contemporary with King Arthur (459-492) and whose son was brought up at King Arthur's Court. In Arthurian saga there are two knights whose names reflect the unaspirated form of Ecel > Acel, namely "Aglovale" (=Agilowald) and "Accolon". The latter was the paramour of Arthur's sister Morgan la Fay and he is styled Sir Accolon of Gaul. Morgan la Fay was the wife of Wiern, a king of the Land of Gore. He is confusedly

³⁵ *Vide* 'Saxonis Grammatici Historia Danica', edd. Müller and Velschow (1858) vol. i, *Part Posterior*, pp. 44, 45.

³⁶ Antenor was a king of Thrace who came with his sons to help the Trojans. He escaped to Italy and founded Padua, it is said. The Franks chose to identify a king of theirs named Ant- with him. That Ant- is the Antseeg of the East Saxon royal pedigree and he was the Antis of Teutonic Saga. In Brythonic legend he comes forward as "Annhun rex Grecorum". The Greeks of the Rhine, *i.e.*, the Creacas, are intended: *vide* my note on 'The Greeks of the Rhine and the Creacas of *Widsith*', in *Notes and Queries*, October 31, 1914, 11, S.X, p. 341.

identified and erroneously called "Urience" by the trouvères. "Urience" = *Urienus* and the 'r' has suffered metathesis therein. *Urienus*, *Uiernus*, *Wiern* point to **Wierni* > **Wearni* > "Warni." This sequence of vocalic change is in accord with Old English phonetic law. In 'P.P.' we get such men's names as *Uarni-causus*, *Vuarne-pertus*, *Uuarne-gausus*, *Warno*, *Wern*, and the like. The O.E. form corresponding to *Warni*, which is Upper German, is **Wiern*.³⁷ The scribal error "Urience" for **Uiernus* naturally and consistently appealed to all who knew of *Urien*, King of Rheged in Y Gogledd. But *Wiern* was a king of the Land of Gore, i.e., of Gyrwaland, the Land of the Gyrwas³⁸ and he is so called by Malory.³⁹ I would identify Sir Accolon of Gaul, whom Malory mentions several times, with *Echel Mordwyawl*, *Eccel* the Seafarer. The unshifted *Aglo-* in "Aglovale" reflects the "Aglo-aldus" of 'P.P.' The addition of *-on* to the name *Accol*: *Accil*, is an instance of a custom that was current among the trouvères and is discoverable in their Brythonic sources.

§ xxvi. The name of *Ecel* is unquestionably Germanic. It points, through Alemannic dialects, to *Ecil* > *Acil* > *Agil*-. In *Ammianus Marcellinus* we may find an Aleman named *Agilo* "tribunus stabuli, tribunus deinde scutari-

³⁷ Cp. Professor Joseph Wright's 'Old English Grammar' (1908) §§ 66, 67. O.H.G. *tarni*, *secret*, O.E. *dierne* > **dearni* > **darni*. Similarly "Warni" became **Wearni* < **Wierne* < **Wiern*. "Uiern", by scribal blundering, became *Urien* and that, when latinised, led on to **Urienus* < "Urience".

³⁸ See my note 'Where was the Land of Gore?' in *Notes and Queries* (1921), 12 S. ix, p. 248. The upward sequence of the folk-name *Gyrwi* of Bede's 'H.E.' is *Gyrwi* > **Gierwi* > **Gearwi* > **Garwi*.

³⁹ The Land of Gore was in the realm of Logres, i.e., of Lloegyr. Those investigators who wish to identify it with Gower overlook this fact; cp. Malory, XVII, xvii. The Land of the Gyrwas included part of Lincolnshire and the Fens.

orum et magister peditum". A king of the Quadi named Agilimundus also appears in Ammian, xvii. 12, 21. The headword of this fourth-century compound name is AGILI, and that is one of the commonest of stems of Gmc. personal names. In 'P.P.' we get 39 combinations with this stem and no fewer than 225 entries of personal names of which either AGILI or one of its dialectal variants is the headword. Cp. Acili, Acila, Acela; Agil, Agel; Agli, Agle, Aglo, Agl-. The later and infected forms are Ægil, Egili, Egel, Ecil, Echila, Ecela, &c. The true sequence of vocalic change is Agil, Ægil, Egil, Egel. In Alemannic the process was Agili, Acili, Acilo, Echelo. The unshifted Gmc. stem AGEL appears in the Agel-oco of Antonine's *Itinerary*. That stopping-place was near Littleborough, on the Trent. The endword -*ōcum* is the Insular representative of -*ācum*. We get this ending in the East Anglian Domnoc⁴⁰ and in a number of names of our west-country villages. Agelocum was opposite to Segelocum and that stopping-place presents the Gmc. name Segel. In 'P.P.' we find Sigilo, Sigloinus, Sigolonus (cp. Accolon), Sicilin, etc. Ælius Lampridius, a late third-century writer whose *Life of the Emperor Alexander Severus* is preserved in the 'Scriptores Historiæ Augustæ',⁴¹ tells us that Alexander Severus was murdered at Sicila—in Britain, as Ælius thought; but in Gaul, according to some others whose opinion he recorded. Sextus Aurelius Victor (c. 370) says "in Britain", quite clearly.

§ xxvii. As Echel is the name given to an independent prince who was ruling in Southern Britain in the third quarter of the fifth century the question naturally presents itself—Is this personal name preserved in any

⁴⁰ In the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede "in ciuitate Domnoc" ('H.E.' II, xv, p. 117) appears as "in Dommoc ceastre".

⁴¹ Edd. Jordan and Eyssenhardt (1864), vol. i, p. 259.

of the place-names of Anglian Britain? The reply is—Undoubtedly, and it is quite frequent in the Midlands. For instance—"Eccleston" occurs in South Lancashire and in Cheshire. "Eccleswall" is found in Herefordshire. "Ecclesall" occurs in Hallamshire, Staffordshire and Warwickshire. In Lancashire and Yorkshire there are two "Eccleshills", and in West Middlesex there was formerly an "Ecclesford". It is now called Ashford. In Kent we get the sib-name "Ecling Hill" and in Suffolk Domesday the sib-name occurs with grammatical accuracy in "Ecclingham". In Northumberland there are an "Egglescliffe" and an "Eggleston".

§ xxviii. Some forms present Egles-, Ægeles-, and this is just the unshifted form of Ecel > Egil > Agili. Many years ago Edwin Guest declared that we ought to derive *Algeles-* place-names from the Welsh *eglwys*.⁴² Similarly Professor Ekwall now assures us that Eccles-names are attributable to Welsh *ecclēs*, from Latin *ecclesia*.⁴³ We are to understand that when the Angles invaded the Brythonic districts beyond the Ouse they found churches in many places and, having learnt from the Brython what name a church was known by, they applied that name (so we are assured) to hills, tūns, fords, bourns, walls, halls, etc. Professor Ekwall has not dated the change from *ecclēs-* to *eglwys*. Neither has he accounted for the assump-

⁴² *Ide* 'Origines Celticae', II (1883), p. 170.

⁴³ See 'The Place-Names of Lancashire' by Eilert Ekwall, Ph.D. (1922), Cheetham Society, No. 81 (New Series), for 'Eccles', p. 37, and 'Eccleshill', p. 75. There is an Eccles in Norfolk and this form occurs in Domesday for *Nordfole*. In *Sudfole* there occurs an "Ecclingham". How that is to be fitted in, to (or with), a British **ecclēs* Professor Ekwall has not revealed. Cp. "Redles", "Beccles", "Hasles" (which occur in *Sudfole*, *Sudfole* and *Herefordsc.*) with "Redelesnuorda" (*Nordfole*), "Becclinga" (*Sudfole*) and "Haslinge feld" (*Grentebriygc.*). Eccles and Ecclingham are quite clear: they can only mean the estate of Eccle and the *hām* of the sons of Eccle.

tion that, in this instance, the Angle failed to keep the phonetic law which postulates O.E. *ī* in place of Latin *ē* in *ecclesia*.

I prefer to regard *Ægeles*- and *Eccles*- forms as owning cases of *Ægel* and *Eccel* which are not only normal dialectical resultants of the Old Gmc. name *Agili*, but one of which presents the sibname postulated—namely, *Eccelinga*.

§ xxix. Even if an Old English **eclis* could be produced it would not help the Celtic derivationists. In the ‘*Brut y Tywyssogion*’, in the *Red Book of Hergest*, in annal 934, we read of an “*Eelis uawr tywyssauc Seis*”.⁴⁴ I identify this chieftain with *Egil Skallagrim*’s son who fought at *Brunanburh* on King *Athelstan*’s side. The same annal in the *Brut* yields “*Etwin*”, and each of these Gmc. names—*sc.* *Egil* and *Edwin*, has the media shifted in this Middle Welsh document.

§ xxx. *Egil* is well-known in legend. He was a brother of *Wayland* and *Slagmund* (erroneously called *Slagfin*), and the three were sons of that *Wada* the son of *Wilkin*, who ruled the *Hælsings*. In the Old Norse *Lay of Wayland* we may read⁴⁵—

“From the South, through Mirkwood, the young fairy maidens flew to fulfil their fates First *Allrune*, *Cear*’s fair daughter, took *Egil* to her bright bosom. The other, *Herwor Swanwhite*, kissed *Slagfin*. But *Lathgund*, her sister, clasped the white neck of *Weyland*.”

In line 42 we read again of “*Hladgudr Hladvess dottir*”: *Hlathguth* the daughter of *Hlodwe*. *Cear* may, according to dialect, be pronounced *Char* or *Kčear*. The propinquity of the Lancashire *Eccleston* to *Chorley*, and

⁴⁴ *Ide* The Red Book of Hergest (*n. s.* note 7), p. 263.

⁴⁵ *Ide* ‘*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*’, edd. *Gudbrand Vigfusson* and *F. Yorke Powell* (1883), vol. i, pp. 168-175.

of the Buckinghamshire "Ægelesburg": Aylesbury, to Chorley Wood and Waddesdon and Chearsley, is noteworthy.

On the top of the Franks casket, in the British Museum, which is believed to have been made in the eighth century, the name of "Ægili" appears in runes above the figure of an archer.⁴⁶ This is the pure O.E. form of Agili.

§ xxxi. The name of Ægil's wife's father, "Kiar," is profoundly interesting. It brings us at once to the Cotentin, and in that region of Gaul we find Cherbourg and Jersey, Guernsey and Alderney. These modern island-names all present Gmc. possessives, and their respective etymons are *Ger-es-ig, *Wern-es-ig, and *Aldr-in-ig (the "ig," or island, of Aldro). It is, of course, tempting to find the name of Echel's son Garnwio in "Guernsey"; but we must remember that Gern-, like Ger-, should have become Jern- (cp. Jerningham) in French; and that in Old French initial *gu* points to older *w*: cp. *guerre*, 'war,' Frankish *werra*; *gué* > *vadum*, 'ford'; *guêpe* > *vespa*, 'wasp.'⁴⁷

§ xxxii. Kiar, Ciar (pron. 'char' as in "Charrington") was an important prince in the early fifth century. In the Old Norse Lay of Hlod and Anganty, line 3,⁴⁸ we read that "In the days of old Anganty ruled the Gōtas, Waldar the Danes and Kiar the Welsh (of Gaul)". In the 'Atla kvida'⁴⁹ we are told that Gunnar of Burgundy's helm and shield came to him from the hall of Kiar—

⁴⁶ See 'Handbook of the Old Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England', by Dr. George Stephens, F.S.A. (1884), pp. 142-147.

⁴⁷ See 'A Historical Grammar of the French Tongue', by Auguste Brachet; tr. by G. W. Kitchen, M.A. (1874¹), p. 64; *g* from primitive initial *v*; Vasconia: Gascoyne; Vardo: Gard; Vapincesium: Gapençais.

⁴⁸ *Ide* 'C.P.B.' (*supra*, note 45), I, p. 349.

⁴⁹ *Ide* 'C.P.B.', I, p. 46, l. 29.

“or hallo Kiars”. As Kiar ruled the Welsh of Gaul we may identify his name with the etymon of the O.E. name of Cherbourg—*sc.* “Kiæresburh”.⁵⁰

The connexion of Ægili: Echel, with Kiær, and the fact that he married a daughter of Cear of Valland, or Gaul, justifies the assertion that *mordwyawl*, ‘the Seafaring’ has a better claim upon us than the imaginary word which is suppose to mean “thigh hole,” but which was rendered for me by a Cardiganshire lady as “the sea with two holes,” and pronounced “ridiculous”.

Walland, *Wealland* and *Walholant* are respectively Old Icelandic, Old English and Old High Dutch names for Gallia or Gaul. The O.I. Kiar is reflected in O.E. *Ceorra*⁵¹ and that postulates an older *Cearra*. The place-names Charrington, Chorley, Cherbury and Cheriton derive their etymon from this personal name. It is customary for scholars to explain the Cheritons as meaning ‘cherry-town’. This is as little deserving of attention as the supposition that Cheesborough and Chiswick were concerned with cheese. The *s* of *cires*, Latin *cerasus* from Greek *κεράσιον*, was not dropped in O.E. “Cheriton” is the representative of an O.E. adopted form **Cerintun*, the *tín* of *Cearo*.

GARNWIO THE SON OF ECHEL.

<i>Goronwy,</i>	<i>Gronw,</i>	<i>Goronwy,</i>
<i>Gowronwy,</i>	<i>Gobrwyl,</i>	<i>Gobrwyl.</i>

⁵⁰ The Land MS. of the Saxon Chronicle, ed. Plummer (1892), annal 1091 (p. 226), reads: “se eorl him to handan let Uescam ond thone eorldom æt On ond Kiæresburh”; Earl Robert surrendered Fescamp to King William and the earldom of On and Kiæresburh, *i.e.*, Cherbourg.

⁵¹ Cp. Searle (*u. s.* note 26): *Ceorra* c. 802, a deacon in the diocese of Worcester; B.C.S. 304; K.C.D. 181. Attempts have been made to derive “Cherbourg” from a supposititious *Cesaris burgo*.

§ xxxiii. Several Old Welsh names of men ending with *-onwy* are presented in the Mabinogion and three such occur in the short 'Poem of Daronwy'⁵² wherein we may find "Mathonwy," "Daronwy" and "Garonwy". "Adonwy" occurs in 'IV.,' i. 393, 417. The variants *Gronw* and *Gobrwy* clearly indicate that mediæval Welshmen, although they had a name *Goronwy* in national use, were nevertheless occasionally diffident about giving that name to the son of Echel. Now, as Echel is Germanic and not Celtic, as I have proved, what Gmc. name can it be that was allowed to assume the form "Goronwy" in Cymric speech? In the reign of King Edward the Confessor there was a moneyer in office whose name is recorded as "Garnwi". This form occurs only once in Anglo-Saxon times.⁵³ But in Domesday Book we may find *Gerne-berne*, *Gernan* and *Gernio*.⁵⁴ In 'P.P.' there are to be found *Gerniu*, *Cherniu*, and also *Gernuuic*. This Upper German name postulates an O.E. *Garnwih* and in West Saxon the *ih* of Anglian and Gmc. words became *ēoh*: cp. Anglian *wih*, 'idol,' with West Saxon *wēoh*, earlier *wīoh*.⁵⁵ Similarly the *Mere-wio-ing-* of Beowulf, l. 2921, corresponds to the Frankish form *Mero-uech-us* of the 'Historia Francorum' of Gregory of Tours. These variations justify the assumption that the extremely rare but dialectically reflected name "Garnwi" represents earlier *Garnwēoh* > *-wēoh* > *-wih*. A Welshman would naturally remember and present such a personal name in his own lingual form of *Garonwy* or *Goronwy*.

⁵² See Skene, 'IV', No. x, vol. i, p. 269.

⁵³ See 'Catalogue of the English Coins in the British Museum' ed. H. A. Grueber (1887), vol. ii.

⁵⁴ See the lists of landowners and tenants in Sir Henry Ellis's 'General Introduction to Domesday' (1833).

⁵⁵ Anglian and Old Saxon *wih*, *temple*; Gothic *weihs*, *holy*; West Saxon *wēoh*, earlier *wīoh*. Cp. Prof Wright's O.E. Grammar, §§ 49, 127, 192.

§ xxxiv. In Domesday Book the following instances of the stem GERN- > GARN-I are recorded:

Gerneham	<i>Lincolesc̃.</i> W. R.
Gernvic	<i>Eurvicsc̃.</i> W. R.
Gernefelle	<i>Summersete.</i>
Gherneslete	<i>Devenesc̃.</i>
Ernemude	<i>Hantesc̃.</i>
Erneselle	<i>Summersete.</i>
Ernicote	<i>Oxenefordsc̃.</i>

Of these place-names "Ernemude" is Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight, and "Ernicote" represents *Gernincote*, the cot of a man named Gerno. The last place-name presents Insular Suevic elided possessive: cp. "Cheriton", "Portitum", "Chenesitun", *et al.* "Gerne" is the reduced form of O.E. *Gernan*, the possessive case of *Gerna*, the pet-form of the headword *Gerni* > *Garni*.

PORTIMAR OF MANCETTER.

Porthuawr, om., Porthor, Porthawr, om., om.

§ xxxv. In Old Welsh a consonant that was flanked by vowels was reduced or lenated: *e.g.* "pechadúr", "cegin", "niver" (for Latin *peccator, coquina, numerus*). Similarly phrases like *tōta mārā 'great people', became susceptible to this change, and Celtic *tota mara* is now "tud vawr".⁵⁶ Another Old Welsh phonetic law requires the aspiration of *t* after *r*: *e.g.* "Mawrth", "parth" "porth" (for Latin *Mart-em, part-em* and *port-um*). Old Celtic *ā* became *ō* when accented and *aw* when atonic. Hence the Early Welsh "Porthvawr" postulates an earlier form with unaspirated dental tenuis and a vowel between *t* and lenated *m*. This would be either Portimār or Portamār.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Cp. Strachan (*u. s.* note 28), p. 9, § 12.

⁵⁷ Cp. Strachan, 'Consonantal Changes', *rt* < *rth*. § 11 c (p. 8).

§ xxxvi. In Old Celtic we find a number of compound personal names ending with *-mār-os*. But Porthvawr is the name of a ruling king in Britain, an *unben* who, as I shall prove, was not of Brythonic race. He was Germanic. Hence the endwords *mār* and *mawr* are not the same. The first is Gmc. and signifies 'famous'; the second is Celtic and means 'great'. The Gmc. ending *-mār* is not found in Old English records except in the case of Ithamār, Bishop of Rochester *c.* 580⁵⁸. He was "de gente Cantuariorum", *i.e.* he was a Juthung or Jute, and that was an Alemannic tribe.⁵⁹ Now Alemannic *mār* postulates O.E. *mær*, *mēr*, and that is not uncommon as an endword in O.E. personal names. Consequently Alemannic *Portimar* keeps step with Mercian *Bordimær*, Anglian *Bordimēr*. These O.E. dialectal forms postulate an earlier *Bardimær* in West Saxon.

§ xxxvii. It is noteworthy that this name *Bardimær* does not occur in 'P.P.' either in Alemannic or Low German. That is a very important point and when I add that no occurrence of either of these forms is recorded in Searle's 'Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum'⁶⁰ it becomes clear that we have to do with a very rare name. As a Brythonic Triad yields Porthvawr which, as we have seen, indicates the dialectal Almc. *Portimār* which postulates a Low German *Bordimær*, earlier *Bardimær*, it behoves us to enquire whether "*Bardimær*" is to be found recorded in Arthurian saga. The result of enquiry shows that it

⁵⁸ *Vide* Bede, 'H.E.' III, xiv, p. 154; III, xx, p. 169.

⁵⁹ "Juthungi Alamannorum pars"; cp. Ammianus Marcellinus, XVII, vi, 1., ed. V. Gardthausen (1874) vol. i. p. 124. The conflux of tribes called Alemanni included Suevi, Lentienses and Juthungi; cp. my note in *Notes & Queries*, 12 S. 1, 201-203 (March 11, 1916) on 'Ammianus Marcellinus and the Legend of the Holy Grail'.

⁶⁰ In Searle we get the following names: Bardel, Bardwulf Berter; Bardi; Beartigo (runic); Bertana; Bertellinus; Bertor; Bardo and Port.

does occur therein but that it is obscured by scribal errors which were doubtlessly occasioned and accelerated by its rarity. The name we seek is preserved in the *Morte D'Arthur* as "Basdemegus" and "Bagdemagus".⁶¹ The former presents *s* for *g*⁶² and *g* for *r*,⁶³ and the latter presents *g-g* for *r-r*. Bardemarus is the latinised unshifted earlier form of Partimār < Portimār. "Basdemegus" points to the Anglian presentation of Bardemār (with normal *ē* for *ǣ*).

§ xxxviii. The dialectal forms preserved in 'P.P.' are Pardus, Parto, Porto; Perdi, Perti, Perta. The unshifted forms preserved in 'P.P.' are Bardo, Bart, Berdo, Berto, Berti. The stem BORD does not occur in 'P.P.' and we do not find it in Searle's 'Onomasticon'; but "Borda" is recorded in Domesday Book, and in an Anglo-Saxon charter we get the diminutive *Bordeli* indicated in "Bord-

⁶¹ "Basdemegus" occurs in the *Morte*, II, xi: Merlin also told Arthur "that Basdemegus was his cousin and germain unto King Uriens". This form only occurs once. "Bagdemagus" occurs quite frequently. He was a knight of the Round Table and king of the Land of Gore; cp. notes 38 and 39 *supra*. The trouvères stuttered over the form of his son's name. The true form was Megilianus. We get Meliganus, Meliaganus, Meliagaunce and Meliagrance. In the Saxon Chronicle Meliaganus, the son of Bagdemagus, is Mægla the son of Port. The earlier form indicated is Magili. In 'P.P.' we get the shifted Alemannic form Maceli.

⁶² The scribal confusion of *s* and *g* occurs occasionally in early mediæval script: cp. my letter to The Times Literary Supplement of May 29, 1919, for documentation of the following instances; "Suennet" for *Guennet*; "Mascus" for *Magnus*; "Sulsise" for *Wulsige*; "Merseat" for *Mergeut*; "syntasma" and "syntasmata" for *syntagma* and *syntagmata*.

⁶³ For documentation of the following instances of *g/r* confusion see my article on 'Local Names in the *Arthuriana*' in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, Bd. V. (1905), pp. 120-121; "guinntguic" for *guinntguis*; "laggi" for *Largi*; "uulgagorum" for *Fulgarorum*; also "berse" for *Begse*; "agrecoria" for *abgetoria*; "royth" for *Goyth*; "roit" for *Goit*; "ruoihm" for *Guoinui*.

elestun".⁶⁴ Bordesley near Birmingham is well known. The stems recorded are therefore unshifted, half-shifted and shifted. They occur as follows:

	Half-Shifted.		Shifted.	
Bardo	Bart	Pard	Parto	Porto
Berdi	Berti	Perdi	Perti	
Berdo	Berto		Perta	

§ xxxix. The 'Libri Confraternitatum' of Upper Germany are neglected by students of our earliest onomastics and they find it much easier to assert that Insular P-names are "Celtic" than to refer to 'P.P.' and investigate the difficulties in which they are enmeshed. Why English scholars do not declare the P-names of Anglian Britain to be Brythonic is incomprehensible. Although the scholars who tell us that these P-names are "Celtic" are prone to write these problems off in this way, they never tell us where the "Celtic" stems they profess to depend upon are to be found. For instance, Pilling, a Lancashire hamlet, is said to present a "Celtic" name.⁶⁵ But where is that name recorded? Is it discoverable in Victor Tournier's 'Indices Grammaticæ Celticæ'? Or in R. A. Stewart Macalister's *Indexes* to 'Studies in Irish Epigraphy'? Or in Alfred Holder's 'Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz'? Or in Alfred Anscombe's 'Indexes to Old Welsh Genealogies'? Where place-names in Anglian Britain are concerned the body of Welsh pedigrees which extend upwards in time to the middle of the third century should certainly be considered worthy of consultation, and the term "Brythonic" should be employed in connexion therewith. But it is always "Celtic". That

⁶⁴ *Vide* Birch, 'Cartularium Saxonicum', No. 739 (vol. ii, 454) and Kemble, 'Corpus Diplomaticum Ævi Saxonici', No. 375, ii, 212. In 'P.P.' we get the half-shifted and i-infected form Bertilo; cp. Bardulu. ⁶⁵ *Vide* 'The Place-Names of Lancashire', (*ut s.*, n. 43) p. 140.

might mean anything recorded between Bohemia and Finisterre and between Gibraltar and the Faroe Isles. It is much too vague and evasive.

§ xl. Out of 1242 briefs of pedigree indexed in my contributions to the ‘Archiv für celtische Lexicographie’ there are just 50 briefs which present P-names; and the actual number of different P-names is 19, including such un-Celtic forms as “Patern”, “Petrun” and “Protech”. As only 16 different P-names are recorded among hundreds of Brythonic names it should be clear that the customary method of dealing with the difficulty we have before us is an untrustworthy evasion.

§ xli. Why the word “Celtic” should be used at all in this connexion I do not know. Those half-hearted investigators who employ it in preference to “Brythonic” are obviously ignorant of the fact that the Irish Celt in the fourth century could not say initial *p* at all. In Victor Tourneur’s *Index* P-name forms number just 54 and only about half of these could stand as actual names of Continental Celtic tribesmen. As this *Index* runs to 55 columns of about 2,200 forms the proportion of P-names is small.

§ xlii. In R. A. S. Macalister’s *Indexes to Names and Words*⁶⁶ not a single P-word or P-name occurs. The early Irish inscriptions were reduced to order by Dr. Whitley Stokes and Professor Rhŷs. These scholars raised Ogham inscriptions to a place of the highest philological importance in Celtic epigraphy. With respect to ‘P’ I am fully aware that Professor Heinrich Zimmer in his article on ‘The Celtic Church in Britain and Ireland’⁶⁷

⁶⁶ ‘Studies in Irish Epigraphy’, Parts I, II, III (1897, 1902, 1907).

⁶⁷ This appeared in the tenth volume of the ‘Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche’, and was done into English in 1902 by Miss A. Meyer.

applied and developed a theory that the substitution of *c* in Irish for Latin *p* was due to British influence and could only be explained on the supposition that as the Brythons knew that their *penn*, *prenn* and *map* were represented in Irish by *cenn*, *crann* and *mac*, so they deliberately altered the Latin *pascha*, *pluma*, *purpura*, *puteus*, *pallium*, etc., to *casc*, *clum*, *corcur*, *cuthe*, *caille*, etc. Who it was that turned *Patricius* into *Cothraige* is not known. The Irish for *presbyter* is "crubthir" and in Ogham we get *qurimitir* (or its equivalents) and it would be quite in order to assert that the Ogham *qu* for *p* was due to inability to say *p*. But it would be absurd to suggest that this is a substitution which is attributable to the influence of Brythonic ecclesiastics. In Mr. Macalister's *Indexes* not one case of initial Irish *p* is listed, and only one case of medial *p* appears—*sc.* "Erpenn". Professor Rhys regarded this as due to foreign influence.

As the number of common nouns and proper names that have been deciphered in Ogham inscriptions, and have been listed in one or another of Mr. Macalister's three indexes, totals 478, the absence of *p*-names is important and noteworthy when we are concerned with "Celtic" misconceptions advanced by Teutonic scholars.

§ xliii. We will now return to Western Germanic Port. One objection to the assumption that I am making that the *a* of the stem PART > BARD was darkened to *o*, will, no doubt, be thrown forward with customary facility. I will meet it in advance. In 'P.P.'⁶³ 17 personal names with the head-word ARD- are listed; 21 with the *d* to *t*-shifted head-word ART-; 3 with the *i*-infection in ERD- and ERT-; and 18 with the darkening of *a* in ORD- and ORT-; *e.g.* Artheri, Ortheri; Ardradus, Ordradus; Arduinus, Artuin, Ortuuinus; Ardi, Ord, Art, etc.

⁶³ *Vide supra*, note 25.

The variants justify the grouping of the various forms of the head-word in Bardimær < Portimar in the following way.

Bard < Pard

Bart < Part

Bord < Port

Berd < Pert

All these forms except *Pard* are presented in different English place-names.

§ xliv. The form Bord-, as I have said, does not appear in 'P.P.'; but there are about 75 forms of proper names which present the other variations of the Gmc. stem BARD that I have postulated and listed. Some of the names in 'P.P.' compounded with PERT, as Causiperto and Pertigausu, should be profoundly interesting to candid students of the onomastics of Roman Britain. *E.g.* Causis Almc and represents Gmc. Gaus-, O.E. *Gēas- < Gēs-. Now Causi, after adoption by the Angles, would become *Cēasi, *Ciesi, *Ciesa. The pet-name Ciesa in conjunction with O.E. *bui*, *bȳ* ('habitations'), would yield *Ciesanby < *Cieseby < "Keisby". Keisby is a Lincolnshire hamlet which is at the exact distance from Lincoln that Causennæ was from Lindum Colonia—namely 26 miles.

§ xlv. It is customary to jump to the conclusion that because the South Saxon name of Port is spelt exactly like the stem of the Latin word *port-us* it must therefore be an ætiological product acquired from *Portesmutha*, the O.E. name of Portsmouth.⁶⁹ If similarly unwise reasonings were applied to the man's name "Aspirin", which occurs three or four times in the Upper German 'Libri Confraternitatum' of St. Gall and Augsburg, the results would be equally ludicrous and untrustworthy. In O.E. *mūtha*

⁶⁹ 'Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel', ed. C. Plummer (1899), II, p. 13, *Ætiology*.

means 'harbour'; consequently, if "Port" = *portus*, Portesmūtha must mean Harbour's Harbour, and Portesham Harbour's Abode. But though the Latin stem *port* frequently occurs in O.E. civic words it is never accorded the possessive case in composition with another common noun.

Those scholars who rely upon the "ætiological abstraction" theory have never explained the southern Yorkshire "Portitun" of Domesday Book. This presents an elision of *-n*, and the full form of the name is *Portintun*. "Portin" presents the Alemannic possessive of weak nouns in *o*. It means the *tun* of Porto and the elision of *n* is frequent in Anglian dialects, and is found in the forms of not a few place-names. For instance, the Domesday Book form "Chenesitun" exhibits this elided possessive, and it is the Kensington of to-day. It is to this Almc. possessive *-in* that we owe the inexplicable, but frequently occurring forms of place-names with undeclined *-ing* which has caused so much disputation and adjustment among scholars who study English names of places.

xlvi. It is significant that in Sussex, where we have so many indications of Alemannic colonisation, we find the endword of Portslade agreeing with the endword of Cricklade, *i.e.* of Creacagelæd, the Way of the Crēacas, or Alemanni. The true modern representative of O.E. *lād*, Almc. *leid*, is 'lode'; cp. the name of the river Evenlode. The Almc. *ei* was pronounced like *ai* in 'maid' and we have the same dialectal vocalisation in Lowland Scotch: *sc. bane, ane, stane*, instead of bone, one(ly), stone. The Alemannic settlers were fairly numerous between the Walls of Hadrian and Antoninus and the name of their country of Croucingo (as it is called in the seventh century work known as the Ravennate Geography) indi-

icates the *gouwe*, or land of Crouco, poss. *Croucin*. The modern "Craster" represents a sixteenth century "Craucester" and that form was used by Leland. It is the "Cair Grauc" of Nennius (the MSS. present *graut* and *grauth*). The Almc. name Crouco was latinised as *Crocus* and it appears as the name of an Almc. king who was allied with the Emperor Constantius Chlorus and was at York when Constantius died there in A.D. 306. The name of *Crocus* is preserved in *Crococalana* which means the (Almc.) *calān*- or (O.E.) *gelān*-lands of Crouco, the Almc. king just now referred to.

§ xlvii. The unshifted stem *BORD* is found in Domesday Book in Bordesdene (*Herfordsc̃*) and in Bordourde (*Hanteš*, I. of W.). Berdingeberie (*Warwicsc̃*) presents the *i*-infection. In *Ledecestresc̃* we get a Bortrod and in *Cestresc̃* a Bertintune=at the *tun* of Berto > Berti; cp. *Perticausu* in 'P.P.'. But the most interesting of all the doublets is the one preserved by the Venerable Bede—viz. "Beardaneu" and "Peartaneu".⁷⁰ In the O.E. version of Bede attributed to King Alfred the Great we get "Peortanige" for the latter. This is Partney, near Spilsby. Beardaneu is Bardney, near Lincoln. The dialectal variations indicate tribal government: the vill of "Pearta" was inhabited by Alemanni who called their lord Bardemær, "Parta", "Pearta"; the vill of Bearda was inhabited by Angles who were Bardemær's own folk. The narrowminded objections that will be raised against this view are merely casual. The Upper German 'Libri Confraternitatum' yield many personal names which, like "Audipertu" and "Pertigausu", are not true to dialectal rule; but which, for that very reason, lend support to the assumption that there was a mingling of men of different tribes under one chief and that his own

⁷⁰ H.E., II, xvi, p. 117; III, xi, pp. 148, 149.

sib would speak his name in one way while the men of other tribes would severally say it in their own respective dialects and in accordance therewith.

§ xlvi. We must now enquire, Who was Portimār? We shall presently find—below, *sub* MANDU, that the royal seat of the *Unben* Portimar was Mandu[essedum], the Mancetter of to-day. This is near the Watling Street in Warwickshire, and it is most interesting to note that the Mercian cognates of Porti(mar), viz. Bordi, Berdi, are to be found at no great distance from Portimar's royal seat. They are Bordesley near Birmingham, and the *Berdingeberie* of the Warwickshire Domesday Book. The half-shifted forms Buringbury and Birtingbyrig in O.E. charters have misled students of Warwickshire place-names and they have derived the Burt-, Birt- forms from O.E. Beorht.⁷¹

I identify Portimar with Port, the father of Bieda and Mægla, who is spoken of in the Saxon Chronicle, at the year 501, as having landed at Portesmutha with his two sons. In the *Morte D'Arthur*, Bk. II, ch. xi, we are told on the authority of Merlin that Bardemerus was King Arthur's cousin and that he was "germain" unto King Urience, *i.e.* Uiernus. In Bk. XVII, ch. xvii, Bardemerus is styled King of the Land of Gore and we are told that he was slain by Sir Gawaine.

§ xlix. In ch. xxvii of the same book we read of King Bardemer's son "Meliaganus". This is a perversion of the latinisation of Megili—*sc.* Megilianus. Megili indicates Magili and that is the rule-right unshifted form of Mægla > Magila. Cp. 'P.P.' for Upper German and Alm. forms: *e.g.* Maceliu, Magel-ildus, Magel-potus. Only the form "Mægla" is found in Searle.

⁷¹ Cp. 'Warwickshire Place-Names', by W. H. Duignan, F.S.A. (1912), p. 26.

§ l. The other son of Port, who is named Bieda in the Saxon Chronicle, is called "Byda" in Florence of Worcester.⁷² A cleric named Bȳda appears in the 'Liber Vitae Dunelmensis'; cp. Sweet, No. 640.⁷³ The sequence of vocalic changes runs thus: Gmc. Baudi, O.E. Bēadi < Biedi < Bieda < Bȳda < Bida.⁷⁴ This is found in the Sussex place-name Beeding near Portslade. Mægla's name may be preserved in "Malling", near Lewes.

MANDW.

§ li. The epithet applied to Porthvawr, or Portimar, is "Ga[n]dw", "Gandwy". We have here a frequent scribal error of mediæval times which obscures the meaning and renders the epithet unrecognisable. The scribal error referred to is *g* for *u*. It occurs so early as the eighth century and it is found in the Corpus Christi (Cambr.) Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary⁷⁵: e.g. "exugiae" and "frigula" for *exuuie* and *friuola*. In the twelfth century map of Britain printed by Bertram of Copenhagen the abbreviation "flu" for *fluuius* is repeatedly printed "flg". The error also occurs in the Grail Legend and a king who is named Aurest in some MSS. appears as "Agrestes" in the MS. of Mans.⁷⁶

§ lii. If we apply the needful correction to "Gandw" we get *Uandw*, and *Porthuawr Uandw* is quite in order. It

⁷² Vide 'Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis', ed. Benjamin Thorpe, 1848 (English Historical Society), p. 4: A.D. 501, Landing of "Port et duo filii sui Byda et Meagla", etc.

⁷³ 'The Oldest English Texts', ed. by Henry Sweet, M.A. (1885). p. 158, l. 167.

⁷⁴ Cp. Searle, 'Onomasticon', p. 106, "Bida", and also Dr. Joseph Wright's, 'O.E. Grammar', §§ 135, 136.

⁷⁵ Edited by J. H. Hessels (1890), v. *Introduction*, p. xxvii.

⁷⁶ Vide Alfred Nutt's 'Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail' (1888) *Grund St. Graal*. p. 61.

signifies Portimar of Mandu[essedum]. This town-name is preserved in "Mancetter", about 8 miles to the S.S.E. of which is Bedworth. This presents correp^ted *e* according to rule where an O.E. compound with long *e* in the head-word is concerned. "Manduessedum" presents the *essedum* of the Galli, Belgæ and Britons. This means a war carriage, and its connexion with Mandu is not clear. But the name of the station appears uniformly in Iter II of Antonine's Itinerary.

ALDRÊD.

Cadreith ; Cadraith ; Cadreith ; om., om., Cadyrieith.

§ liii. "Cadreith" is an old Welsh personal name. In the 'Gwarchan of Cynvelyn' in the *Book of Aneurin* we read that "Three only returned from Catraeth: Cynon and Cadreith and Cadlew of Cadnant". There is, however, considerable confusion in the tradition of the name of the son of Portimar of Mancetter. In the *Mabinogi of G. ap E.*⁷⁷ we find a brief list of the pages of King Arthur. It runs: Nyf amgen pedwar macwy. Sef rei oedynt: Cadyrieith uab Porthawr Gandwy ac Ambreu [MS. -en] uab Bedwyr a Goreu uab Custennyn". In some gatherings of the Trioedd a Cadyrieith ap Saidi displaces the son of Porthawr Vandw. Moreover the scribe of the Red Book may have had some reason for altering an *i* and making the name into *Cadyrleith*. Other forms are Karieith mab Seidi and Cas mab Saidi.⁷⁸ The most important testimony is that conveyed in *G. ap E.* which I have just now quoted.

§ liv. Now Cadyrieith and Cadreith are equally impossible as Gmc. names, and a Gmc. name is unquestion-

⁷⁷ The Mabinogion: Llyfr Coch: p. 246, l. 18; ed. John Rhys and J. G. Evans, 1887.

⁷⁸ MABIN. RHON., p. 160, l. 5; K. AC O., p. 110, l. 14.

ably postulated for the son of Bardemær: Portimar of Mancetter. I assume that the *c* of the conjunction *ac* was tacked on to the name and that the well-known Cymric name "Cadreith" usurped the place of a name that was really *A . . . dreith*. That this is equally impossible with Cadreith and Cadyrieith must be admitted. The vowels of *eith* reflect those of "Ffleid", which we shall presently see is the Gmc. Flæd, Flēd. Consequently we are faced by a Brythonic presentation of a name *A . . . drēt*: *A . . . drēd*, and I do not hesitate to amend this to Aldred which is a very common name in Anglo-Saxon times. No fewer than 65 occurrences of it are listed in Searle.⁷⁹ Moreover it appears in Aldersgate: Aldredsgate: Aldrethesgate,⁸⁰ and we also get it in the neighbourhood of Portslade. That old town was in the *Sudsexe* half-hundred of "Eldritun" (now Aldrington), and this name presents the infection of *a* and the elided possessive. It points to an earlier *Aldrintun, the *tun* of Aldro.⁸¹ There is another Aldritone in *Northantsc̃*, two others in *Glowecstersc̃*, and one in *Wiltesc̃*. These all occur in Domesday Book and there are hamlets at no great distance from any one of them which yield some form of the stem BARD: PART: BORD: PORT. An unaspirated "Altera" occurs in 'P.P.' and an aspirated "Haltero". The true Old High Dutch for Aldræd is "Altrāt" and the half-shifted form "Aldratus" occurs in 'P.P.' side by side with Aldrath, Altarat and Alterat. For Anglian *ē* = West Saxon *æ*, cp. Wright, O.E. Grammar, 1908, § 188.

§ lv. Scholars who study Anglo-Saxon ignore the

⁷⁹ 'Onomasticon', 1897, pp. 198, 199, 200; Ealdred. Also see pp. 549, 550.

⁸⁰ Cp. 'A Dictionary of London', by Henry Harben, 1918, 'Aldersgate'.

⁸¹ Old High Dutch weak nouns in *-o* made their possessive in *-in*; cp. Professor Wright's 'Old High German Primer' (1906), § 121.

fact that the dental in *rāed* < *rēd* became shifted to *t* in the eighth century, or earlier. In the "Bædæ Continuatio" (ed. Plummer) i. 362, in annals DCCXXXIX and DCLL. Cudræd and Ædelheard, who were kings in Wessex, are referred to as Cudret and Edilhart. We find the same hardening of *d* in "Cercic" (for Cerdic) in the Laud MS. of the Saxon Chronicle.

§ lvi. If we must retain the *C* of Cadreith we are really not hampered thereby. The initial *c* of cognate Brythonic words postulates a rough breathing in O.E.: cp. *cat*, *cae*, *cam*, *cwnol* with *heatho*, *hay* (=hedge), *hamm* (of the leg, or of a river) and *hundlic*. Hence a Brythonic Caedreith, if the form Caldreith is presumed to be postulated, demands Haldret, Haldræd or Aldred (with dropped *H*) in Gmc. languages.

GODO.

§ lvii. This name is reproduced uniformly in those MSS. of the Triads that yield the name of the father of Prince Flæd. It is not a Celtic name. No stem *Gōd* is to be found either in Victor Tournieur's 'Indices'⁸² or in Dottin's 'Manuel'.⁸³ In Gmc. names the stem *Gōd*-, used as a headword, is not at all uncommon. I know of no Anglo-Saxon prince who bore this name in the fifth century. We must, however, remember that the earliest recorded Gmc. possessor of Durolipons,⁸⁴ a station in the

⁸² 'Indices omnium vocabulorum Linguae Priscæ Gallicæ et Vetustæ Britannicæ quæ in 'Grammaticæ Celticæ' editione altera explanantur', *Archiv für celtische Lexicographie* (1907), III. Band, SS. 110-137.

⁸³ 'Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'Antiquité Celtique' par Georges Dottin, Professeur à l'Université de Rennes, 1906.

⁸⁴ For Durolipons cp. 'British Place-Names in their Historical Setting', by Edmund McClure, M.A. (1910) p. 108, note; also 'Celtic Britain' by John Rhys, M.A. (1904), pp. 229, 297, 300.

Fifth Iter of Antonine, was named Godmund: cp. "Godmundcestre" (*Huntedunscire*) in Domesday Book. In *Ledecestrescire* there was a "Godmundelia". This is also called "Gutmundeslea" in Domesday Book, and the shift of *d* to *t* is noteworthy: cp. § lv. In the West Riding of Yorkshire there was a "Gudmundham". This is the Goodmanham of to-day and it was called "Godmunding-aham" by the Venerable Bede.⁸⁵

§ lviii. "Godo" was represented in the Rhineland by *Godo*, *Goto*, and *Coto*. Four occurrences of *Godo* are to be found in the 'Liber Vitae Augiensis'; three of *Goto* as a headword in the same; and two of *Coto*. An O.E. stem *Gōd* which is indicated by the modern name Goodmanham, postulates an Upper German *Cuoto*, *Cuota*, *Cuot*-. "Cuoto" does not occur in 'P.P.' But we get the pet name *Cuota* thirteen times, and nine names with the headword *Cuot* are listed. *Cuod*- forms also occur and names such as *Guoda*, *Guota*, *Guoto* and *Guotmunt* maintain the connexion.

FFLEID.

Phleidur, *Ffleudur*, *Fleidur*,
Ffleudur, *Fflewduur*, *Ffleudur*.

§ lix. The three earliest MSS. present the vowel *ei*, and as the same Brythonic vowel is given here as that which represented the *ā*, *ē*, of Aldrēd we may hopefully enquire how the Gmc. dialects will respond to the Brythonic "Ffleid".

Brythonic	Ffleid	-reith
O.E.	Flāed	-rāed
O.H.D.	Flāt	-rāt
O.S.	Flād	-rād
Mid. Dutch	Flād	-rād

⁸⁵ H.E. ', II, xiii, p. 113.

Anglian	Flēd	-rēd
Mercian	Flēt	-rēt

§ lx. If we turn to Förstemann⁸⁶ we find Old Saxon place-names under FLAD: *sc.* Fladungon (eleventh cent.) and Fladesheim (tenth cent.). We also get the Upper German Flatmarasbiki (ninth cent.) which indicates the full form Flātnār. In 'P.P.' a number of vocalic puzzles is presented. Old High Dutch forms are Flatamar, Flātoolf and Flatueus. We also get Floti and Flotarius. Similarly the Old Saxon Flodebertus may be regarded as yielding the darkening of *ā* into *ō*. The forms Fleido and Flōdpret need explanation if they are to be regarded as Continental Flād-forms.

§ lxi. In the 'Liber Vitae Dunelmensis' we find a Fladgus, and there was a Flodwine among the English moneyers in the time of King Edgar. In Birch and Kemble the place-name Flædanburg, the Stronghold of Flæda, occurs in seven charters. This is Fladbury in Worcestershire. In Notts there is a Fledborough and in Kemble ('C.D.' dcccxviii) that appears as "Flatburche".

§ lxii. When we turn to Domesday Book we find a similar gathering of vocalic puzzles awaiting us. The scribal difficulty presented by the O.E. *æ* to the Norman scribe,⁸⁷ who rejected it, and wrote *a*, is before us in the Fladeburg of *Snotinghamscire* and the Flatebi and Flatesbi of *Eurwicscire*. If we could be sure of these forms we might assert that the names present the Almc. *ā* and the *d* to *t* shift. But the possibility that scribal *a* has taken the place of the tied letter *æ* is always present. The *Fl-d*-names in England indicate a mixture of four Gmc. dialects—namely West-Saxon, Anglian, Mercian-Suevic,

⁸⁶ 'Altdeutsches Namenbuch: Ortsnamen' (1913), I, 898.

⁸⁷ The tied *Æ* occurs about 13 times as an initial in Domesday Book, but it is very rare in a medial position.

and Alemannic. In Domesday Book we find the following :

Fladeburg	<i>Snotinghamsc.</i>	
Fledeberie	<i>Wirecestresc</i>	
Flatebi	<i>Eurviesc.</i>	W.R.
Flatesbi	do.	do.
Fleteham	do.	do.
Fletesbroc	<i>Statfordsc.</i>	

The O.E. Flæda is preserved in "Flædanburg" in Birch and Kemble. "Flæd" is dealt with in Sweet's 'Oldest English Texts', § 605.

FFLAM.

§ lxiii. We must now consider the meaning of the word *Fflam*. "Ffleid ur Fflam" means Fleid, or Flād, the Flām. In Old Welsh the article is always *ir*. In Middle Welsh it became *yr*.⁸⁸ I regard "Ffleidur Fflam" as a mis-spelling of *Ffleid yr*; and I take "Fflām" as a folk-name; cp. "Cradil y gaut" = Hradil y Gaut, *i.e.*, Hræthel the Geat. In the New English Dictionary the correpted English folk-name is explained and the following forms are given :

Middle Dutch	Vlāming
Old Norse	Flæmingr
O.H.D.	Flaming
Mediæval Latin	Flamingus
French	Flamand

The puzzles presented by these forms are too numerous to be stated even and I will refer to Warnkönig, who in his 'Flandrische Staatsgeschichte' (I. p. 91), is faced by the same problem. He states that the Suevi were associated with the Old Saxons in the Germanic colonization of Flanders, and he believes that this assumption is rendered

⁸⁸ Cp. Strachan (*ut supra*, note 28) § 23, and § 1, *a* and *c*.

probable by the fact that fifteen villages in Flanders preserve the name of the Suevi as a headword: *e.g.* Suevezele, Sueveghem, etc. The Suevi of the fourth and fifth century were undoubtedly Alemannic and the recognition of that fact where English and late Roman Britannic place-names are concerned would clear up many of the difficulties that hamper research.

GWLEDIC.

§ lxiv. There now remains only the word "Gwledic" which is applied to Fleid yr Fflam, *i.e.* Flæd the Fleming. The late Sir John Rhŷs in 'Celtic Britain' (1904), p. 104, refers to the *Dux Britanniarum* and the *Comes Litoris Saxonici* of Roman times, and he says that it is highly probable that the leaders of the British armies after A.D. 410 were regarded by the provincials as the successors of those officials and as having a right to those titles. "The difference between a *comes* or count, and a *dux* or leader, was only an unimportant one of imperial etiquette in favour of the former; the office of both was called a *ducatu*s, and both *comes* and *dux* appear to have been rendered into Welsh by the term *gwledig*, a ruler or prince, which is the title always given in Welsh literature to Maximus, who was probably Duke of the Britannias before he made himself emperor".

§ lxv. The reference to a Fleming as *Gwledic* brings us down to the times, subsequent to the year 442, when the Britannias were lying under the government of the Saxons. It is customary to render the passage from a Gallic chronicle which I am about to cite and quote, as if it referred to conquest by the sword. I regard the passage referred to as the record of a diplomatic arrangement.

The particular chronicle cited comes to an end in A.D. 452.⁸⁹ At the nineteenth year of Theodosius, which ended in A.D. 442, we are told that “*Britanniae usque ad hoc tempus variis cladibus eventibusque latae in dicionem Saxonum rediguntur*”. In another Gallic chronicle which ends in 511,⁹⁰ at the sixteenth year of Theodosius we may read that “*Britanniae a Romanis amissae in dicionem Saxonum cedunt*”. A variety of efforts have been made to explain “*latae*” in the earlier chronicle. I regard the *l* as a common misreading of *s*⁹¹ and for *latæ* I would read *satiatæ*. It is quite possible that the chronicler wrote *satæ* and intended to convey the true meaning—‘satiated’ ‘glutted’, ‘cloyed’. To me the passage does not present any justification for the statement that it authorises us to assert that the Britannias were conquered by the Saxons in A.D. 442.⁹² I render it: The Britannias . . . satiated with their misfortunes and with the consequences thereof are put under the authority of the Saxons.

§ lxvi. The first undoubtedly historical “Saxon” to become Dux Britanniarum was the Alaman who appears in Arthurian legend and in Old Welsh Genealogies as “Duke Ansirus” (=Duc Cansirus)⁹³ and as “Casnar

⁸⁹ *Ide* ‘*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*’, IX, p. 660.

⁹⁰ *Ide* ‘*M.G.H.*’, IX, p. 661.

⁹¹ These misreadings were furthered by the curious tendency in early mediæval times to write the letter ‘s’ backwards. This tendency caused *s* to take the place of *l*. With “*Hailsaltede*” and “*Cair legeint*” for *Hailsastede* (D. Bk. for *Sudseve*) and *Cair segeint* (Durham MS. of the ‘*Historia Brittonum*’) compare “*Wlfesmesquite*” for *Wulfelmescote* in the D. Bk. for *Warwiċſc*; and “*martyſi*” for *martyli* in Hydatius (ed. Mommsen, p. 23).

⁹² Cp. H. M. Chadwick, ‘*The Origin of the English Nation*’ (1907), pp. 48, 49

⁹³ *Ide* ‘*The Morte DArthur*’, by Sir Thomas Malory (1485); *The Second Book of Sire Tristram*, chap. xxxviii.

Gwledic⁹⁴ and "Casnat Gwledig"⁹⁵ and "Cassanauth Gwledig".⁹⁶ He is the "Canser" of the Holy Grail⁹⁷ and the "Cāsēre" of Widsith-Hama.⁹⁸ Hama was Casere's seneschal at Binchester⁹⁹ and he tells us quite reliably that Cāsēre ruled the Creacas, or Alamanni, and also the Willas. The latter were the Wilsætas of Wiltshire, and the former dwelt in Northumberland and Durham. Their country was called "Croucingo" by Ravennas and one of its principal towns was named "Craucestre" in Leland's time. It is the "Cair Greu" of the Welsh Triads and is known to-day as "Craster", cp. § xlv. Canser, the King of Northumberland, the Casnar Gwledig of the Mabinogion, became "Comes et legatus Aëtii" in Gaul, and is known as Censorius.¹⁰⁰ His death is recorded by Hydatius in A.D. 448.

⁹⁴ In the Mabinogi of Pwyll Pendewic Dyuet: (*u. s.* note 7), p. 25, l. 16. In the Mabinogi of Kilhwch ac Olwen: (*u. s.* note 7), p. 107, l. 23.

⁹⁵ In the Mabinogi of Rhonabwy: "Llara uab Kasnat Wledic"; p. 160, l. 2 (*u. s.* note 7).

⁹⁶ In the Llyfr Llewelyn Offeiriad (c. 1360): cp. my *Indexes to Old Welsh Genealogies*, No. 870, 'Archiv für celtische Lexicographie', III, p. 68.

⁹⁷ In L'Histoire de Grimaud "Kanser" occurs once; "Cancer" twenty-four times, and "Canfer" sixteen times.

⁹⁸ In the 'Traveller's Lay' or 'Widsith', preserved in the Codex Exoniensis which was written c. 990. See my revised edition, 'Transactions of the Royal Historical Society', 3rd Series, vol. ix (1915), p. 145, *Casere and the Creacas*.

⁹⁹ *Vide* 'Le Saint Graal', ed. by Emil Hucher (1875), vol. i, p. 579: "Kamaor seneschal d'Orbérique". "Orbérique" is a trouvère's mispresentation of Cor Benic, *i.e.*, Cor Bin, or Binchester.

¹⁰⁰ The forms vary greatly. In Hydatius Lemicanus we get *Censorius*, *Consurius* and *Censurius*; *vide* 'Continuatio Chronicorum Hieronymianorum ad annum cccclxviii'. The Bishop Hydatius was contemporary with Count "Censorius". He died about A.D. 470. In the "Chronicarum Libri IV" of Fredegarius Scholasticus (c. 650) we get "Cæsarius Comes" and "Cæsar".

§ lxvii. The first recorded king of Northumberland was Ida, the son of Eoppa. He began to rule in A.D. 547. It is customary to speak of him as founder of the kingdom; but cp. § xxii, *supra*. In the Grail Legends, in the Mabinogion, and in the Morte DArthur, three royal princes are connected with the throne of Northumberland. The first was the Causari < Cansēr referred to in § lxvi. He probably ruled between 420 and 432. He became a Count in Gaul, and in the latter year he is mentioned by Hydatius Lemicanus as the Count and Legate who was sent by Aëtius to negotiate with Hermericus, the king of the Suevi in Spain. These were Alamanni who had conquered Gallicia. In 433, 437, and 440, Cansarius played a prominent part in the endeavour to restore Gallicia to peace and good order. He was well known to Hydatius, the bishop of Chaves in that province, and was unquestionably an Alaman. Now Widsith-Hama (*supra*, note 98) tells us that he visited Cāsēre the ruler of the Creacas or Alamans, and says of Cāsēre (> Cansāri) that he “geweald ahte . . . Walarices”, i.e. possessed the rule of Gaul.

The Angles regularly dropped *n* before *s* and lengthened the preceding vowel. Hence came “Cāsēre”, through *Cāsāri, from *Cansārius. The contact of *n* and *s* was resented by the Brython, also, and as “Cansar” meant nothing to him he changed it to “Casnar”, which suggests *casner*, ‘anger’, ‘indignation’. The *ns* contact was, however, preserved in the Grail Legends; cp. my note 97. In the Morte DArthur we read of a Duke “Ansirus”, *supra* note 93. Duke Cansirus’s official coming and going between Gaul and Britain is very quaintly explained in the Morte DArthur.

§ lxviii. The next king of Northumberland appears in three legendary documents: viz., (1) in K. ac O. (*vide*

§ ix, *supra*); (2) in RHON. (*vide* § x, *supra*); (3) in the Morte DArthur, Bk. I, ch. x. In the Mabinogion this prince is called "Llary mab Casnar Wledig". In the Morte DArthur he is called "Clariance", king of Northumberland. This points to a Latinised form *Clarianus*, which is Germanic in origin. The former name "Llary" is a pun. It means 'meek', 'mild'. We have here the O.E. name "Claré". The eleventh-century *Clarembaldus* points to *Claren*-. Such English place-names as Clare and Clareborough preserve this personal name.

§ lxix. The third prince of this house is called "Epinogris". He was "the king's son of Northumberland", *i.e.*, he was the son of the King Clari-anus who was opposed to King Arthur in A.D. 459; *vide* the Morte DArthur, VII, xxvi. The final *s* in "Epinogris" is an instance of the scribal confusion of *s* and *g*; cp. note 62, *supra*. "Epinogris" stands for *Epino Grig*. This presents the folk-name that is used in the English saying—"As merry as a grig". The Grigs were the Alamannic Creacas of Croucingou in Northumberland. The unshifted form of *Crēacas* is Grēagas, Grigs. The form *Crēac*- corresponds to Crouc-, Crōc-, the name of the Alamannic king who was allied to Constantius Chlorus in A.D. 305. "Epino" is the Alamannic shifted form of *Abino* < *Ebino*; cp. 'P.P.' for "Abini", "Ebina". The stem EB- is preserved in "Ebchester" in the county of Durham. That was the Roman station named Vindomora.

The "Book of Basingwerk" and Ms. Cotton Cleopatra B.2.

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INTRODUCTION.

ON November 7th, 1917, Professor Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie read a suggestive paper before the British Academy entitled "Neglected British History", in which he reopened the vexed question of a native British or Armorican source for the early history of Britain. One possible source, identified in the Welsh chronicle known as "*Brut Tysilio*", had been supposed by certain scholars more than a century ago to underlie Geoffrey of Monmouth's famous *Historia Regum Britanniae*, and to represent the *librum vetustissimum* which Geoffrey repeatedly declared that he translated into Latin. This identification of source, however, and the arguments at that time put forward in its support, were shown in many respects to be mistaken, and the theory has been entirely discredited for at least fifty years by all literary and historical students and writers. It is repeatedly stated that no source has ever come to light, and that the "most ancient book" is a myth of Geoffrey's own invention,—part of the air of verisimilitude which that arch-romancer cast about his creation. Once a source was eliminated, all serious historical interest disappeared in Geoffrey's lists of kings and other incidents, such as Cæsar's invasion, or his contributions as to the period of Roman occupation, and King Arthur's wars with the Saxons.

Professor Petrie, however, re-examined the "Brut Tysilio", called the original Welsh version, though he worked at second-hand with a badly edited and actually misleading translation into English from the supposed Welsh original; and he detected, after a searching analysis of the internal evidence, that at least certain passages could not have been written so late as Geoffrey's time (1135-55). Furthermore, as the passages, and some of the facts they enumerated, did not appear in the known Latin historians preceding Geoffrey, the inference from these discoveries undeniably pointed to a native original. Dr. R. W. Chambers challenged certain of Professor Petrie's conclusions in two papers which appeared in *History* for January and April, 1919, to which Professor Petrie wrote rejoinders; and since then the matter has rested, so far as the present writer has been able to discover.

In this paper there is no intention of attempting to estimate in any way the rightness or wrongness of Professor Petrie's main contention; all that is purposed is to correct, if possible, certain errors concerning two of the Welsh manuscripts involved, about which there has been confusion, and which seem to have been inadequately described. The way may thus be paved for further and more accurate research on a most interesting and important series of problems.

I.

Professor Petrie described this "native" Welsh version, which has been called the "Brut Tysilio", very briefly as follows: "While we may see a few, and contemptuous, references to Nennius or Gildas, the name of the so-called Tysilio's Chronicle is never given, nor is any use made of its record. . . . The best MS. of it appears to be in the Book of Basingwerk; it was printed in Welsh

in the *Myxgrian Archaiology*, of which a second edition appeared in 1870. It was translated into English by Peter Roberts, and published in 1811, and a second edition in 1862. This translation is now so rare that I cannot hear of any obtainable copy, and could only work on it by having one of the British Museum copies typewritten.”¹ Professor Petrie, having apparently made the statements about the “Book of Basingwerk” largely on W. F. Skene’s authority, elsewhere says that he uses the name Tysilio merely as a brief label, disclaiming any knowledge or examination of the original Welsh manuscripts: “The questions of real authorship, of original dates of compositions, and of successive MSS. are quite outside my scope here” (p. 253). Once again in the body of the article (p. 264), Professor Petrie gives another authority, quoting from an essay by the late Thomas Hodgkin to the effect that an original and ancient (tenth century) Welsh or Breton manuscript version of British history once existed,—of which, presumably, Professor Petrie infers that the “Book of Basingwerk”, referred to above, is a copy. “That such a work did exist”, he writes, “. . . is guaranteed by the ‘*Brut y Brenhined*’, written in Brittany in the Breton dialect in the time of Athelstan (925-941) by an insular Briton’. . . . Thus writes Dr. Hodgkin, quoting from the *Biographie Bretonne*.”

Now it so happens that the authorities quoted by Professor Petrie are misleading. A reader would infer from them not only that an ancient document once existed, but that a version of it had actually been printed in Welsh, and a translation into English made, but which

¹ *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1917-1918, p. 251. A footnote reference gives as authority: “W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, ii, 24”; which must be a slip for vol. i. We shall refer to Skene’s account later.

scholars had ignored. Skene's information about the "Book of Basingwerk", however, and other Welsh manuscript versions of the old British Chronicle in question, is, because taken at second-hand, confused and inaccurate. Hodgkin, furthermore, misread the article in the *Biographie Bretonne*, as Dr. Chambers pointed out in his critique of Professor Petrie's thesis; but Dr. Chambers, while noting Hodgkin's "slip", does not appear to have investigated the Welsh manuscripts themselves. The result is that while Dr. Chambers advances one step in correcting the double misreadings of Hodgkin, and from him, of Professor Petrie, his own contribution is at best only a negative one under this head, and he in turn is unintentionally misleading in his statements about the manuscripts involved. The matter needs to be cleared up, and as it is complicated, it becomes necessary to enter into some detail, as otherwise no uninitiated reader could possibly follow the argument.

Dr. Chambers describes briefly, but with an unfortunate appearance of finality, the Welsh versions of the *History of the Kings of Britain* (*Brut y Brenhined*), basing his classification on the "three types, extant altogether in thirty manuscripts, [which] are enumerated by Mr. J. G. Evans."¹ He gives no hint that manuscripts exist other than the thirty listed in 1889 by Dr. Evans, nor does he state that the "Book of Basingwerk" is not mentioned in that list. Certain of these thirty manuscripts, "and these, as it happens, the latest in date", continues Dr. Chambers, "claim to be, not translations of Geoffrey, but copies of the source from which Geoffrey claims to have translated. To this version of the *History*

¹ His note refers to: *The Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. by J. Rhys and J. G. Evans, Oxford, 1890, vol. ii, pp. xiii-xix.

the name *Brut Tysilio* has been given. . . . After this catalogue of existing *Bruts*, it remains to mention one which does not exist, but the assumed existence of which has been the cause of much confusion. Geoffrey, we have seen, asserts that he is translating a book brought out of Brittany. Now, both Geoffrey and the *Brut Tysilio* conclude with the mention of King Athelstan, who died A.D. 941. Therefore, *if Geoffrey is speaking the truth about his sources*, he presumably used a Breton book, which since it presumably mentioned Athelstan, but mentioned none later than he, was, presumably, compiled in his reign. To this theoretical Armorican source, the *Biographie Bretonne* applied the name *Brut y Brenhined*. . . . Dr. Hodgkin, however, misunderstood this reference in the *Biographie Bretonne*, and read it as being a reference to an actual existing document, 'the *Brut y Brenhined* written in Brittany in the Breton dialect in the time of Athelstan (921-941)'.¹ . . . 'I owe this reference', he [Hodgkin] adds, 'to De la Borderie's article 'Conan Meriadoc' in the *Biographie Bretonne*'. But'', continues Dr. Chambers, "if anyone will turn to that article he will see that the *Brut y Brenhined* is simply the name there applied to the presumed Armorican original of Geoffrey, and that De la Borderie expressly states that such presumed original no longer exists. Yet this theoretical Breton *Brut*, assumed on the strength of Geoffrey's assertion, is repeatedly quoted as if it were an existing document confirming that assertion, and the great reputations of Dr. Hodgkin and Professor Petrie have given to this view a currency which it would otherwise hardly have attained.

¹ The date 925 correctly appears in the original, i.e., "Cornwall and Brittany", p. 443, note, in the 78th *Annual Report of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society*, new ser., vol. i, Pt. 3, 1911.

"It needs, therefore, to be stated most unequivocally that this Armorican *Brut* does not exist. Its supposed existence arises from a slip by Dr. Hodgkin in 1911. [The Presidential address in which these statements were made was delivered in 1910.] This is disappointing, for the references to it in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* must have led many students to hope that a new document was at last forthcoming, throwing light on a puzzling problem."¹

Granting his approach, which is the opposite of that of De la Borderie, Dr. Chambers has quite fairly interpreted the sufficiently explicit statements of De la Borderie in the article in question in the *Biographie Bretonne*. On page 411, section II, under the caption LE BRUT Y BRENHINED, De la Borderie writes: "C'est donc encore ici un document de l'histoire véridique, mais simplement un monument de la tradition populaire. [The negative participle is lacking in the first phrase. A hasty reading may have led Hodgkin to a wrong inference from the start.] Ce monument contient l'histoire (prétendue) des divers chefs qui ont gouverné la race bretonne, depuis Brutus, premier auteur de cette race, jusqu'à Cadwal-Ladre, qui vivait à la fin du VII^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne. Le *Brut y Brenhined* a été écrit sur la terre d'Armorique, et dans le dialecte des Bretons armoricains, au temps d'Athelstan, roi d'Angleterre (925-941) ⁽¹⁾, par un Breton insulaire qui avait probablement suivi sur le continent Alain-Barbe-Torte (voyez ce mot), à l'époque (en 937) où set illustre chef revint délivrer notre péninsule du joug des pirate normands qui la désolaient depuis trente années.

¹ *History*, January, 1919, pp. 226-7.

“ Nous ne possédons plus aujourd’hui la version originale du *Brut*, écrite dans le dialecte armoricain ; mais nous en avons du moins une version en dialecte gallois, rédigée (à ce qu’il me semble) par Geoffroy de Montmouth, et imprimée dans la collection du Myvyrian, où on lui a donné, par suite de circonstances trop longues à exposer ici le titre de *Brut Tyssyllo*.” De la Borderie continues with a warning of the need for distinguishing carefully between this version and others,—a warning which has passed unheeded by later writers : “ il faut se garder de la confondre avec plusieurs autres versions galloises, . . . qui sont réellement des amplifications très-ornées, très-étendues et considérablement augmentées ; il faut surtout se garder de confondre le *Brut Tyssyllo* avec l’ouvrage latin de Geoffroy dont je parlerai bientôt, et qui porte le titre d’*Histoire des Rois bretons*.”

Dr. Chambers notes that De la Borderie clearly states that we no longer possess the Breton original, by which the French author means that no manuscript of an age greater than Geoffrey’s *Historia*, in Breton or Welsh, has to his knowledge survived. De la Borderie specifically gives it as his opinion, however, that an original *version* has survived, incorporated with Geoffrey’s *Historia*, and in the Welsh *Brut Tysilio*. But as no one has as yet produced the conclusive evidence of an ancient British manuscript antedating Geoffrey, and apparently without having himself studied the Welsh versions that are extant, Dr. Chambers casts doubt on Geoffrey’s repeated statements that he possessed such a “ most ancient book ” which he translated, and he treats the very existence of such an original as unwarranted. In this he but follows in the footsteps of predecessors, some of whom we know could

not read Welsh, and very few if any of whom give the least evidence of having ever examined these Welsh manuscripts.¹

It is true that, so far as known (and by no means all Welsh manuscripts have been examined), no Welsh (or Breton) manuscript has survived earlier in date as a manuscript than the twelfth century. But although an original manuscript may have perished, its matter may still be identifiable, by means of careful textual criticism, in later compilations, or even copies. Therefore we cannot follow Dr. Chambers when his argument, in reply to Professor Petrie, passes from the unequivocal denial of the present existence of the ancient Armorican manuscript cited, to the conclusion that existing Welsh chronicles in manuscript (including Geoffrey's *Historia*) are without authentic original sources, and fail to reflect a native version of early British history. It would obviously be most difficult to *prove* that a British history had never been compiled 900 years ago—and we cannot safely assert that no identifiable version of it exists in the Welsh manuscripts, until all of these have been critically examined. It is significant that the denials of such a British version usually

¹ Professor Petrie at the close of his address, listed the qualifications which are necessary, and the material to be covered in any endeavour to deal adequately with this problem. "The present requirement for British History, so much neglected, is a scholar in Old Welsh, Breton, Irish, and late Latin, accustomed to palaeography, who will deal as an historian, and not as a mythologist, with the following sources:—The *Brut y Brenhined* of A.D. 940, in Breton; all MSS. of Tysilio, of the *Historia Britonum* or Nennius, and of Gildas, tracing their descent and various dates of issue; the chroniclers, as Henry of Huntingdon, Hector Boece, John of Fordun, &c., to discriminate how far other sources of material—now perished—were used by them; the Irish Annals; the Mabinogion, the triads, the laws, and other literature which may embody historical detail" (pp. 274-5). The present writer, who can put forward no claim whatever to know the above languages,—though several years of work with Latin manuscripts, and

come from those who do not or cannot read mediæval Welsh, while the few who have actually studied the Welsh texts at first hand, usually come to believe in a native version—whatever their reasons. This is repeatedly the case from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries, not to include Geoffrey himself, and other writers of his generation.

It can further be demonstrated that what is probably the earliest Welsh manuscript *version*¹ of the *Brut y Brenhined*, dated as a manuscript by Dr. J. G. Evans as of the early part of the thirteenth century,—say about A.D. 1210-20, is itself a copy (i.e., the work of a copyist) of some Welsh original, as a complete set of excellent rotographs made for me by Mr. Ballinger of the National Library of Wales, amply demonstrates.² Another manuscript, giving still another *version*, may be dated in almost exactly the same period. A complete set of rotographs of this second manuscript has also been made for me. There are in addition others, too numerous to detail here. These two early manuscripts *may* be, what they are usually called, translations into Welsh of Geoffrey's

printed texts and rotographs of Welsh manuscripts are familiarizing him with some of the forms,—nevertheless has the inestimable advantage of close collaboration with the Rev. Robert Ellis Jones, S.T.D., Canon of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, New York, one-time president of Hobart College, and of Welsh parentage, whose high scholarly standards, and assiduous reading of mediæval Welsh chronicles and poetry have been generously and with tireless enthusiasm placed at his disposal. The results of this collaboration are now being written out, and a volume on some of the sources of Geoffrey of Monmouth, together with a diplomatic text, and a literal translation of Walter's Book, are approaching completion.

¹ By *version*, I mean the essential contents, not the MS. itself.

² Dingestow Court MS. cf. for example fol. 2vo., where a whole sentence is copied twice. The only printed description of this MS. seems to be in Rhys and Evans *Text of the Bruts*, already cited; p. xiii. The text varies from that printed from the *Red Book* MS.

Historia, but they have never been adequately examined, and no one has proved that they are. They differ from each other—slightly in subject matter, radically in diction and phraseology. As an example of the kind of statements current about them, Dr. Evans quotes from the *Dictionary of National Biography* in a footnote to page vi of his Preface to the *Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*. He writes: "In an article on Geoffrey of Monmouth in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mr. H. R. Tedder commits himself to the baseless assertion that 'the three Welsh chronicles known as the "Brut Tysilio", the "Brut y Brenhinoedd", and the "Brut Gr. ap Arthur", have been clearly shown [? by whom] to be late translations or adaptations of Geoffrey's *Historia*.'" Dr. Evans asks advisedly "? by whom"—certainly not by Zarnke or ten Brink, who wrote more than twenty years before Dr. Evans discovered the Dingestow Court MS., and described it in 1889. On page xi, Dr. Evans writes of his proposal "to edit the Berne MS. of Geoffrey's *Brut*, and to print in parallel columns the oldest Welsh version". This, in the intervening thirty-five years, Dr. Evans has unfortunately been unable to do; but it shows that one authority on Welsh manuscripts recognized differences of sufficient importance in these early versions to warrant examination and editing. Nothing, however, has been done with them since. Eger-ton Phillimore, in 1890, made the statement about the versions other than the *Brut Tysilio* that they "all seem indisputably to be taken straight from Geoffrey".¹ He professedly, however, had not examined the Dingestow Court MS. and many others of considerable antiquity.

In the first of the manuscripts mentioned above, the

¹ "The Publication of Welsh Historical Records" in *I' Cymmrodor*, vol. xi, p. 165, n. 4

so-called Dingestow Court MS., the preliminary Dedicatory Epistle to Robert of Gloucester, with which Geoffrey's *Historia* commences, is given in *Latin*, and in, apparently, a different hand from the rest of the MS. The description of Britain follows immediately in Welsh, and on the same page. The opening lines about Eneas would read in a translation very close to those in the *Red Book*, but the verbal divergences are marked, though they cannot adequately be shown in an English translation,—comparison of the Welsh being necessary. However, as the text progresses, more and more differences, not only verbal, but of facts appear, until in the colophon we find statements of considerable significance. Dr. Evans, who does not quote it, says that, "The greater part of the colophon is lost" (p. xiii); but Canon Jones gives the surviving part, which we place in parallel columns with the corresponding passage of the *Red Book*, with their respective translations:—

Dingestow Court MS.,

p. 316, last seven lines.

E tŷwŷssogion a uant ar gŷmrŷ
wedŷ hŷnnŷ pob eilwers a orch-
ŷmŷnneis i ŷ caradawe o lan
carban uŷg kŷt o'swr. Ac iddo
ef ŷd edweis i ŷ defnŷd. ŷ
ŷsgriennu ŷ llynŷr o hŷnnŷ
allan. Brenhined ŷ saesson ŷ rei
a doethant ar ol a oreŷmŷneis
ŷ wilŷm o . . . a . . . mesbŷr. a
henri o hontendeson. A thewi
ar er kŷmri¹

Red Book text,

p. 256.

A renhined y rei auuant or amser
hwnnw aŷan ygkymry · y gara-
dawe olan garban vyg kytwerswr
ygorchymynaf i eu hyseriennu.
A brenhined y saeson y wilim
malmeson ac y henri hwntedwn.
yr rei hynny yd archaf i dewi. A
brenhined y brytanyeit kanyt
yttyw gantunt y hŷfŷr brwtwn
hwnn. Yr hwnn a ymchoeles
Gwaŷtter archdiagon ryt ychen o
vrytanec yg kymraec. yr hwnn

¹ This is similar, with one important difference, to the colophon in Cleopatra B. V., fol. 108 recto, last four lines, and verso first two lines. Cf. a modernized form in the "Book of Basingwerk", p. 178, col. 6, first eight lines, but with marked verbal differences. Cf. below pp. 74-75, for a full discussion of this colophon in relation to others that differ from it.

[The remainder on the next page is undecipherable.]

The *princes who were over the Cymry* after that [temp. Athelstan] successively, I committed to Caradoc of Llanancarvan my contemporary and to him I promised the material for writing the book from that time on. The kings of the Saxons *who came afterwards* I committed to William . . . bry and Henry of Huntingdon, but let them be silent about the Cymry . . .

[The word *thewi* is not at all urbane, equivalent to our "shut up". Canon Jones].

yffyd gynultiedic yn wir oc eu hystoryaeu wy yn enryded yr rae dywededigyon tywyssogyon hynny. Ar ywed honn y prydereis inheu ymchoelut ef YR ILADIN.

The kings who from that time on were in Wales I assign to Caradoc of Llanancarvan, my contemporary, to write about.

And the kings of the Saxons I assign to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, whom I order to keep silence concerning the kings of Britons because they have not that British book which Walter Archdeacon of Oxford translated from British [old Welsh ?] into Welsh, which having been faithfully compiled from these *historia* (records and traditions) in honour of the aforementioned princes, I have in this manner been at pains to translate into Latin.

The most cursory comparison of these with the usual *l'envoi* of Geoffrey in his *Historia* surely precludes translation,—whatever theories one may propound to explain the variations.¹ Suffice it here to say that there is no

¹ cf. Geoffrey's colophon, text and translations, given below p. 74 from the Berne, and another early manuscript of the *Historia*, with discussion of the use of "promised" from the abbreviated Latin *pmitto*. The italicized phrases above differ from Geoffrey. The clear statements, with such early manuscript authority, that Geoffrey had information (probably native, from the context) about the period after Cadwalader in 681-2 [689] which he gave to Caradoc, promising "material for writing the book from that time on" cannot be overlooked. We fail to see justification for the remark of Dr. Robert Huntingdon Fletcher: "The date of these [*i.e.*, 'Welsh translations of

valid argument against the supposition that Geoffrey re-translated his own elaborated and popular Latin text back into Welsh for his countrymen; and further, there is no reason to suppose that Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, may not have copied out, both in Latin and in Welsh, his own original discovery of native material. A thorough and unprejudiced examination of all the Welsh versions is essential to the elucidation of this problem. It is admittedly complicated by the likelihood that the great popularity of Geoffrey's "worked up" and elaborate Latin version would have influenced later Welsh copyists of any genuine Welsh chronicles. Also, once Geoffrey's Latin *Historia* was translated into Welsh, any bare Welsh chronicle would suffer by contrast; and as the *Historia* proper was accepted as dependable history, the earlier Welsh chronicle would many times be discarded in favour of the longer and more elaborate work, or it would be changed to conform with its more successful rival. The complications of the problem, however, need not deter students from seeking for whatever detritus of original Welsh records can be shown to have survived.

Speaking of the *Tysilio* version, supposed to represent the *librum vetustissimum*, Dr. Chambers admits (p. 34) that, "Of course, ancient and authentic documents are sometimes extant only in very late transcripts. Neverthe-

the *Historia*"], indeed, is doubtful, and their very misleading statements about their authorship afford no information as to the real facts". In a note on the "doubtful" age of the translations, Dr. Fletcher adds: "It can only be said that there is a manuscript of the *Tysilio* form written at the beginning of the thirteenth century" and he cites Dr. Evans' description on p. xiii of the *Text of the Bruts. The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, vol. x of the *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, p. 117, and note 2. Dr. Fletcher has obviously not read the Dingestow Court MS., nor the Welsh originals of the *Tysilio*, and he appears to have depended upon Roberts' and San Marte's translations of the latter.

less, a treatise, supposed to be 'based upon documents extending back to the first century A.D.' [this from Professor Petrie], and claiming to derive its text from the *Red Book of Hergest*, may naturally be treated with some suspicion when its text is found to date from 1695." Now it happens that no manuscript mentioned by Dr. Chambers claims to derive its text from the *Red Book*. The text entitled *Brut Tysilio*, beginning on page 434 of the second edition of the *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales*, is most certainly not the version found in the *Red Book of Hergest* (as the editors, and Roberts following them, erroneously state), but is undoubtedly taken from another manuscript in Jesus College, Oxford, number XXVIII,¹ dating, as Dr. Chambers says, from the year 1695. But Hugh Jones, under keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, in whose autograph this last manuscript is, was not the author of this version, nor does he claim to have derived it from the *Red Book*. Rather, he found it worth while to make a complete transcript of another manuscript, about two hundred years older, on vellum, namely, Jesus College MS. LXI (*Hist. MSS. Com.*, No. 8). A complete set of rotographs of the first, and test rotographs from the second, made for me by the Oxford Press photographer, establish this point beyond peradventure. The later transcript is beautifully and clearly written and adheres to its original with remarkable accuracy, reproducing errors, etc., and as the earlier manuscript is faded, torn and stained, and is often hard to read, the *Myvyrian* editors probably found it easier to edit the later manuscript, knowing that they were obtaining the text of the earlier, and then, because the *Red Book* MS. and the earlier

¹ Number 19 in Vol. 2 of the *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, described by Dr. J. G. Evans.

Tysilio were both in the Jesus College library, they confused them and cited the wrong manuscript as their source. The *Tysilio* and *Red Book* versions differ radically in vocabulary, style of composition and content, and could not be considered similar by anyone. It is, of course, remotely possible that the *Myvyrian* editors deliberately referred to the *Red Book*, as a somewhat older and far more famous document, and in defiance of the facts. The *Tysilio* version, we might add, has marked divergences from the two early thirteenth century MSS. referred to above, and well repays careful study.

Jesus College MS. LXI, the earlier *Tysilio* version, is dated by Dr. Evans 1500-1525, and by Hardy and Coxe both as fifteenth century. It contains the special Colophon,¹—and as in fact Hugh Jones appears to have made a remarkably faithful copy, and the *Myvyrian* editors in their turn to have made only a few negligible printers' errors in editing it, we may safely say that the printed text represents the earlier manuscript. Moreover, there are at least six other, practically complete, "*Tysilio*" manuscripts; one in the British Museum (Addl. 15,566), two Mostyn, two National Library of Wales, one Peniarth and one Llanstephan. This makes eight manuscripts in all, instead of one, for this *Tysilio* version alone, the earliest dating from the end of the fifteenth century. Beside this there are large parts of this version combined verbatim with other versions by various eclectic compilers of British history, as, for example, Llanstephan 5 (early XVIth), Mostyn 115 (XVIIth), or B. M. Addl. 14, 903 (1613). To these last, and most important of all, should be added the "*Book of Basingwerk*" and Cotton Cleopatra

¹ "I, Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, turned this book from Welsh into Latin, and in my old age I have turned it the second time from Latin into Welsh".

B. V., which will be analysed in due course. In 1889 Dr. J. G. Evans listed only thirty manuscripts of what he considered three types of *Bruts*; but to-day there are printed descriptions of at least sixty-three manuscript *Bruts*, not counting mere chronologies or insignificant fragments. These represent various versions and compilations, contain some material not in Geoffrey, and a few at least could not have been merely translations of Geoffrey.

This enumeration of manuscripts and versions is all derived from a careful perusal of printed catalogues, supplemented by collation made for me of the respective manuscripts with the printed texts in the *Myvyrian*, and also sets of rotographs, which the librarians of the respective libraries involved have been at pains to supply promptly and accurately. In the face of all this easily accessible printed material,—let alone direct reference to no longer inaccessible manuscripts,—it is greatly to be regretted that Dr. Chambers (echoing earlier writers) advances a single manuscript of 1695 as one prime reason for discrediting the existence of a native *version* of British history, and the claims made for its original antiquity. He has both wisely and rightly cautioned scholars against relying on the printed texts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Latin *Historia*, which are "corrupt" and inadequate to a degree; and has himself gone direct to the Latin manuscripts of Geoffrey in the British Museum, making, as a result, notable textual contributions. But he does not appear to have done the same thing with the Welsh, nor has he (as did Professor Petrie) appealed for the need of re-examining the Welsh sources.

Professor Petrie, referring to W. F. Skene, alludes to the "Book of Basingwerk" as probably "the best MS." of the *Tysilio* version, but Dr. Chambers, though he emphasizes "the late and corrupt text of *Tysilio*",—i.e.,

the 1695 manuscript,—makes no allusion to the “ Book of Basingwerk ”, nor does he or Professor Petrie give its age or description. One is left to infer from these statements that this manuscript “ was printed in Welsh in the *Myvyrian Archaeology* ”, and that the “ transcript ” spoken of (though not named) by Dr. Chambers, dated 1695 (namely Jesus XXVIII), and given by him as the basis for the text of the *Tysilio* printed in the *Myvyrian*, must be the “ Book of Basingwerk ”. But this is far from being the case; the “ Book of Basingwerk ” has never been printed, it is not identical with either Jesus College MSS. XXVIII or LXI, and this text was not printed in the *Myvyrian*.

Before undertaking to describe directly the “ Book of Basingwerk ”, therefore, and an equally significant manuscript, the Cotton Cleopatra B. V., it will perhaps be wise to leave no stone unturned, and to revert for a moment to a reference given by De la Borderie in the article cited above, which apparently has not attracted attention.

De la Borderie, in a note indicated by the number ⁽¹⁾ in the text of the quotation made above, gives the following reference : “ Le plus ancien manuscrit gallois du *Brut y Brenhined* se termine par la note suivante, citée par le rev. Evan Evans dans le *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine* (T. I^{er}, p. 396), et que M. de la Villemarqué a bien voulu me traduire du gallois.” He then cites in a French translation the concluding lines, not of the *Tysilio* version, but of the distinctive ending from the *Red Book of Hergest* text. As the one word, “ Saeson ”, not in the *Red Book* text, is inserted by Evan Evans in the original Welsh citation in the *Cambrian Quarterly Magazine*, and the spelling of “ gweythyen ” differs, he may possibly have seen or copied from another manuscript, but the wording is characteristic, and does not belong to other Welsh ver-

sions. Those familiar with all the printed endings would easily have recognized to which version Evans' citation belonged, and would not have confused it with the *Tysilio*. Evan Evans gives the age of the manuscript he used as "from five to six hundred years old"; and the *Red Book* itself is to-day dated for the *Bruts* at about 1380. Therefore we apparently find De la Borderie citing at second hand as a *Tysilio* version, the entirely different *Red Book* version, which latter he mistakenly designates as the manuscript of the original British book—or *Brut y Brenhined*. This error the editors of the *Myvyrian* and Roberts perpetuated in their respective prefaces.

Villemarqué, whom De la Borderie frequently cites as his authority, gives us a further clue to the manuscripts on which his opinions at that time were based. In his *Essai Sur l'Histoire de la Langue Bretonne*¹, page xxxiiij, he writes: "Il nous reste à étudier, comme précédemment, les monuments écrits de la langue bretonne, pendant la période qui nous occupe." He then cites first: "1° Le *Brud er brénined énez Bretaen* ou la *Chronique des rois de l'île de Bretagne*, ouvrage en prose, composé au VIII^e siècle, au monastère de Gaël, en Armorique, par saint Sulio ou S. Y-Sulio, et remanié au XII^e, en Galles." Note six follows, which to our surprise reads: "(6) Musée britannique. Biblioth. Coton. MSS. in-4° vel. Cleop. B. C. 5. 19.A, publié, d'après un autre manuscrit moins ancien, dans l'*Archæol. of Wales*. T.II, p. 81." This last reference is to the *Brut Tysilio* version (1st ed. of *Myvyrian*), and leads one naturally to infer that the Cotton Cleopatra B. V. MS. was an ancient Breton manuscript, which underlies the *Tysilio* version. It is hardly necessary to say that Villemarqué drew, not largely, but entirely

¹ Paris, 1847. The copy used was De la Borderie's own, now in Columbia University Library.

upon his imagination, alike in the above statements as in the spelling. His misinformation, however, misled De la Borderie, who misled Thomas Hodgkin. Nevertheless, and just because of all this comedy of errors, there is really much to be said about these Welsh versions.

We ask the candid reader at this point how this confusion and these cross-currents can possibly be resolved save by a direct appeal to the original manuscripts themselves? And this, apparently, is what *no* writer on the subject has done for well over one hundred years. Even San Marte in 1854, when he "translated" the *Brut Tysilio* into German, on his own statement translated Peter Roberts' English rendering, which his German text amply proves, repeating as he does some of the errors made by Roberts in his English translation. The arguments of Zarnke against the priority of the *Tysilio* are based in turn on San Marte's German text, which Zarnke says that he quotes.¹ Add to this the corrupt state of the printed texts of Geoffrey's Latin, the pitfalls of which Dr. Chambers has made so convincingly and lucidly clear, and it becomes evident that great care must be exercised in forming opinions and pronouncing judgment on any basis of verbal descent. Much still needs to be done to elucidate the whole problem, but nothing so much as a direct return to all the manuscripts involved.

II.

THE purpose of this and the following section will, therefore, be to place on record how inadequately both the manuscripts under consideration have been described, and

¹ "Ueber das Verhältniss des Brut y Tysilio zu Gotfried's Historia regum Britanniae", in Ebert's *Jahrbuch für Romane und Englische Literatur*, and V., p. 259: "Im Brut lautet die entsprechende stelle nach San Marte's Uebersetzung", etc.

then to attempt a brief analysis of them *de novo*. In the discussion of the "Book of Basingwerk", which follows first, it will be well to bear in mind that the Cleopatra B. V. MS. is a cognate text, with apparently a very similar version in both the *Bruts*; but that there are sufficient differences between them to establish that they are independent of each other, and probably derived from a common original (or body of materials) now lost.

There is no description of the Llyfr Du Basing, or "Book of Basingwerk", in the *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, undertaken by Dr. J. Gwenogvryn Evans. However, there are several, and conflicting, accounts given by various writers, which it is necessary to cite as a means of elucidating the problems involved.

Humphrey Lloyd made, apparently, the earliest printed allusion to this manuscript, in his *Historie of Cambria* (p. 206 of the first edition, 1584):

"The successions and actes of the princes of Wales after this time, [A.D. 1156] untill the yeare 1270 were kept and recorded from time to time in the Abbeis of Conwey in Northwales, and Stratflur in Southwales, as witnesseth Gutryn Owen, who being in the daies of Edward the fourth wrote the best and most perfect copie of the same".

This quotation, together with two notes on the last page of the manuscript,¹ have convinced several writers that the "Book of Basingwerk" was in the autograph of Gutyn Owain, and should therefore date about, or shortly after its latest entry, namely, 1461. Humphrey Lloyd, be it noted, indicates, not that Gutyn Owain compiled a new chronicle, but that native chronicles were kept at the two abbeys mentioned, and that Gutyn Owain's copy of these, somewhere between 1461 and 1483, is a witness to this fact. Whatever Lloyd's reasons for giving the pre-

¹ Cf. p. 308, and the last fly-leaf of the "Book of Basingwerk."

cise date of 1270, it is at least interesting that it should fall in the midst of the most prosperous part of the reign of Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the last and most eminent of the paramount Welsh princes. From patriotic motives, this would be a good stopping place.

I was informed on July 16th, 1923, that in the National Library of Wales, where the "Book of Basingwerk" is now deposited, it was described as follows :

Llyfyr Du Basing, the Black Book of Basingwerk Abbey, containing "Dares Phrygius" (pp. 1-40): Brut Tysilio (pp. 41-198); Brut y Saeson pp. 199-308).

This MS. was written in the fifteenth century by Guttyrn Owain, historian and herald bard to the abbeys of Basingwerk and Strata Florida who also continued the "Brut y Saeson" down to his own time, the last entry of the book being dated 1461. In H. Lloyd's "Historie of Cambria" (1st ed. 1584) p. 206, the present MS. is referred to in the following words: "The successions and actes of the princes of Wales as witnesseth / Gutryn Owen, who being in the daies of Edward the Fourth / wrote the best and most perfect copie of the same." The MS. is rubricated throughout.

My informant added that the manuscript appears to be throughout in the handwriting of Guttyrn Owain and therefore was written say about 1475. But even granting, he continued, that all parts of it may not have been written by Guttyrn Owain, it certainly was not written before the fifteenth century.

The three treatises which compose the MS. are clearly outlined in the above description, but the indications of age and handwriting are not so uniform as is implied. For one thing, Guttyrn Owain did not write the whole MS.—his characteristic autograph begins on page 89, a little before the part of the *Chronicle of the Kings* describing Cæsar's invasion of Britain, and the break in the MS. at this point is marked and unmistakable.¹ For the sake of

¹ Cf. the reproduction of pp. 88-89, made from a rotograph, which places this fact beyond dispute. [See Facsimile pp. 110-111.]

clearness it will be best to examine each of these three parts independently, postponing a more detailed analysis of the second, or *Chronicle of the Kings*, to the last, as of the greatest interest for the problem immediately under discussion. It will then be seen how confusing are the accounts, and why it is that anyone not actually examining the manuscript might take it for granted that Gutyn Owain was the writer throughout.

In 1811, Peter Roberts in his Preface (op. cit., p. xii) accepted the authorship of Gutyn Owain for the whole of the manuscript, and he wrote that "It is from this copy . . . that the translation of Dares is given." The pseudo-classical Trojan story of *Dares Phrygius*, however, has nothing to do with the *Chronicle of the Kings*, though in certain manuscript compilations (such as the *Red Book*) it precedes it. We might interject here that this is not the case with the Cleopatra B. V. MS., nor does the *Dares* appear at all with the *Tysilio* texts. Beyond noting that the handwriting is not that of Gutyn Owain, and also does not seem to be the same as the forepart of the *Chronicle of the Kings*, we may dismiss this first section from our discussion, as not directly pertinent. The several Welsh versions differ textually; and this one, with only some of the y's dotted, may be dated perhaps towards the end of the fourteenth century.

It is important to note, however, that Roberts' statement that the *Dares* had been taken from the "Book of Basingwerk", together with his following sentence, led later writers apparently to a wrong inference. Once Roberts' designation of the *Tysilio* text as from the *Red Book* MS. was disproved, it was inferred that the text he really used for the *Chronicle of the Kings* was from the "Book of Basingwerk", as well as the text of the *Dares*. His next sentence, cursorily read, gives colour to this

inference, for, to continue the quotation from Roberts, he wrote : " In this MS. [i.e., the " Book of Basingwerk "] the former part of the chronicle is more full than any other copy I have seen, and for this reason it has been thought better to subjoin the portion at length." This gave the *Tysilio* an air of uniqueness, implied by Roberts and the *Myvyrian* Editors for this *Tysilio* version. In the text, however, Roberts translates fully, in smaller type below the line, that portion which covers exactly Book I in Geoffrey's famous *Historia*—no more. But it was supposed, apparently without due examination of his text, that the fuller part spoken of referred to the whole of the *Brut Tysilio* section, while the more closely uniform, briefer part referred to the *Brut y Saeson* which follows. This was further substantiated by the title arbitrarily given to the *Brut y Brenhined* in the " Book of Basingwerk ", namely, *Brut Tysilio*, which appears in both the *Myvyrian* and in Roberts, and, of course, does not occur in the MS. itself, or in the *Red Book*.

It cannot, however, be said, since Roberts does not take the " Book of Basingwerk " as the basis for his text, but takes the *Brut Tysilio* of the *Myvyrian* (i.e., Jesus MS. No. XXVIII=LXI), that the " Book of Basingwerk " was " translated into the English by Peter Roberts "—as Professor Petrie holds, and in effect, before him, Ab Ithel in the Rolls Series text of the *Brut y Tywysogion* (cf. below, p. 112). Only thirteen out of one hundred and fifty-eight pages of the MS. (not including the *Brut y Saeson*, 109 pages more), or about eight per cent. of the whole, are translated—i.e., MS. page 41 to the top of column b on MS. page 54. The passage that is translated differs considerably from Geoffrey, from the *Tysilio* version given above the line, and from the *Red Book* version,—in fact from all but the similar version in the *Cleopatra B. V.*,

and in the so-called *Brut Gruffudd ab Arthur*, where, with a very different orthography, and many variant phrases, there is the same general elaboration. "The remainder," continues Roberts (that is, after Book I to the end of the *Chronicle of the Kings*, but not *Brut y Saeson*), "agrees so very closely" with the *Tysilio* version, "that it seems only to be another translation from the same original. It was therefore sufficient to note the variations." While we cannot agree entirely with Roberts in this last statement, the version certainly becomes much less elaborate, and therefore approaches the briefer and plainer *Tysilio* form. Roberts, in this latter section after Book I, does not collate the text closely with his own, but introduces only one not very extended passage, again below the line (MS. pp. 101a to 103b), and such differing dates or facts or names as struck his fancy, or appeared to throw some light upon Welsh antiquities which could not have been derived from Geoffrey. Therefore in no sense can Roberts' English translation as a whole be said to represent the text of the "Book of Basingwerk", except in the first pages; while Manley Pope's popularized re-edition of Roberts (in 1862) introduced so many alterations and re-arrangements, and suppressed so many passages not to his liking, that it departs radically from any Welsh original, and is actually misleading. Here again we see a series of incorrect inferences made the basis for positive statements, no one of which would have resulted from a careful examination of the manuscripts, or the comparison of printed texts and translations with them.

Before taking up this second part, or *Chronicle of the Kings*, in greater detail, let us now turn to the third, entitled *Brut y Saeson*, or *Chronicle of the Saxons*. A survey of the way this Chronicle has been used will throw further light on the manner which has unfortunately

characterised hitherto the editing of so many Welsh manuscripts.

In 1848, Henry Petrie and the Rev. John Sharp edited to the year 1066 the *Brut y Tywysogion*, or "Chronicle of the Princes," with a translation, in the ponderous *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. According to Egerton Phillimore, in a valuable article in *Y Cymmrodor* for 1890, of which he was then editor, this work was done "under the unacknowledged editorship of the celebrated Welsh scholar, Aneurin Owen."¹ If so, Owen, by his method of editing, only added to the confusion already existing about the documents relating to this middle portion of Welsh history. The *Brut y Tywysogion*, or "Chronicle of the Princes", is, as Phillimore said, "properly the generic term for every chronicle of Welsh affairs in Welsh which begins with the death of Cadwalader Fendigaid in 681-2 (since when the rulers of Wales have been technically known as *Tywysogion*, or 'Princes', instead of *Brenhinoedd*, or 'Kings'), and ends either with or previously to the death of Llywelyn ab Gruffudd in 1288" (p. 149),—the last paramount Welsh prince before English conquest. Now Geoffrey of Monmouth, at the close of what may be a later edition of his *Historia Regum Britannicæ* (in Welsh, *Brut y Brenhined*) where he has just recounted the death of Cadwalader, says, literally translated: "But their kings who from that time [i.e., 681-2=689 in text] succeeded in Wales, I commit [promise?] in the materials of writing to Karadoc of Llancarvan, my contemporary. But the kings of the Saxons [I commit] to William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon, whom I command to be silent concerning the kings of the Britons,

¹ "The Publication of Welsh Historical Records", p. 140—a valiant, though none too courteous effort to stimulate interest in the contribution which unpublished Welsh manuscripts could make to history.

since they have not that book of britannic language which Walter, archdeacon of Oxford brought me out of Britain [or Brittany?] which, being truly written in honour of the aforesaid princes concerning their history, I have taken pains in the present manner to translate into the Latin language."¹

As many (if not all) of these Welsh *Bruts* begin exactly where Geoffrey's history ceases, all documents called *Brut y Tywysogion* are hastily ascribed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, because of Geoffrey's reference to him. That Caradoc did write a *Life of Gildas* is no longer seriously disputed, and he may very well have been the author also of one of the many extant versions of the *Brut y Tywysogion*. As in some of the best manuscripts the style changes markedly in 1120 (e.g., the *Red Book* text), that date may tentatively be fixed as the limit of his writing, and all later entries to be additions. Caradoc himself died apparently before 1147. The work of continuing this Chronicle to 1270 is said by Humphrey Lloyd to have been carried on in the two abbeys of Conway and Strata Florida, and the "Book of Basingwerk" to have been copied by Gutyn Owain who was attached as bard to

¹ The text of the Berne MS. of Geoffrey's *Historia* reads: Reges autē eorum qⁱ ab illo tēpe in gualiis successerst. karadoco lancarbanensi ²tepaneo meo in materia sicbendi pmitto. Reges u^o saxonū. Willelmo malmesberiensis.- 7 henrico huntendonensi. q^os de regib; bitonū tacere iubeo. cum n̄ habent librū istū bitannici sermonis. quē Gualter⁹ oxenefordensis archidiacon⁹ exbitannia aduexit. qēm de hystoria eorum ueraci^t editū in honore p̄ dictorum principū hoc m^o in latinū sermonem TRANSFERRE CURAUI.

At least five of the Welsh manuscripts which have colophons similar to this *l'envoi* of Geoffrey have words close to the following: "The princes who afterwards in succession were over the Kymry I committed to Cara-

the latter abbey (a close neighbour of Conway) and also to Strata Florida ; while the text of the *Brut y Tywysogion* in the *Red Book* is supposed to have been compiled at Strata Florida after its foundation in 1164.¹ Gutyn Owain may have continued this material in his copy (which is the " Book of Basingwerk ") from 1270 (or thereabouts) to 1461,—from what precise sources is hard to determine.

But when Aneurin Owen selected the manuscripts which he used for his text of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, he chose first the *Red Book* text of that title for his basis, probably because it was complete ; this he collated with two unnamed MSS. at Hengwrt ; and last he used also the " Book of Basingwerk " and Cotton Cleopatra B. V. The two Hengwrt MSS. have been identified with Nos. 16 and 51, now called Peniarth MSS. 18 and 20, and are deposited in the National Library of Wales. The first of these is dated about 1330 and is in two contemporary hands. It antedates the *Red Book* text by about fifty years, but is very incomplete ; so as the two MSS. represent " a virtually identical text ", it naturally seemed

doc of Llancarvan, my contemporary, and *promised* him the materials for writing such a book from this point onward ":—cf. in addition to the Dingestow Court MS. cited above, Peniarth MS. 45=Hengwrt 536, late thirteenth century ; Peniarth 22, as also the " Book of Basingwerk ", Cleopatra B. V., and *Brut Gruffyd ab Arthur*. The words *permitto* or *promitto* may be read from the abbreviated *pmitto* of the Latin manuscript. Compare two and three lines above—*tepe* = *tempore*, and ²*tepaneo* = *contemporaneo*. Read either way (and experts to whom the rotograph has been submitted disagree), the suggestion that Geoffrey's " old book " or materials went beyond the death of Cadwalader, with which he stopped, is interesting. Far from being facetious, he seems to me to be entirely serious, to the point of earnestness.

¹ Phillimore, loc. cit., p. 150.

wiser to use the *Red Book*, merely collating verbal differences from the other.

The texts or versions of the remaining three MSS. used by Owen, however (e.g., Hengwrt 51=Peniarth 20, the "Book of Basingwerk," and Cleopatra B.V.), vary so considerably as to make collation with the above two actually impossible. Moreover, though the title of Peniarth 20 is correctly given as *Brut y Tywysogion*, the titles in both the "Book of Basingwerk" and Cleopatra B.V. (if they may be called titles) are *Brenhined [Brut] y Saeson*, or Kings [Chronicle] of the Saxons.¹ Therefore, since the texts of these two Chronicles, under entirely different titles, are at such complete variance with the other texts of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, Owen himself could hardly amalgamate the two, no matter what paraphernalia of brackets, variant readings and letter foot-notes he used. In note *a* on page 841 of the *Monumenta*, it is stated of these two manuscripts that "such of their respective variations as require translation have been separated from those which are merely verbal"; but Phillimore put the case more bluntly and accurately when he wrote that these MSS. were "collated as to facts" only, "the verbal

¹ The first line of col. a, p. 199 of the *Book of Basingwerk* reads: "ystoria brenhinedd saeson,"—"history of the Saxon kings." Then follows on the second line a large initial letter "G wedy darvod yr."—with the *ystoria* above the *G* and crowded to the left side, as if the whole first line had been written in later. It may fairly be called a title. In the Cleopatra B. V., fol. 109 recto, the first line reads: "ŷmin . ŷ dechereu brehined ŷ saesson."—"here begins the kings of the saxons." Dr. J. G. Evans, in transcribing these words in his description of the MS. in the *Reports of the Hist. MSS. Com.*, changes and restores the spelling, capitalizes the initial ŷ, and does not dot the ŷ's—"Yman y dechreu brenhined y saesson." In the opening line that follows, he fails to dot *all* the ŷ's, which are so dotted in the MS. Edward Owen in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts Relating to Wales in the British Museum*, London, 1900, Part I, No. 96, spells the first word "ymma", and does not dot the ŷ's. The *Mygyrian* gives "Yma".

differences between all of them [he includes the Heng. 51=Pen. 20] and the version used for the text [the *Red Book*] being so great as to render any collation of verbal differences—in other words, any real collation at all—out of the question” (p. 153). And in fact, whole sentences are omitted from both.

The result in the *Monumenta* is inconceivable confusion. “The process,” writes Phillimore, “of forming one text out of such discordant materials may be compared to that of making an elaborate knot with threads of various colours. The trouble of making the knot is vast, but the trouble of undoing it when once made is so much vaster, that there is little likelihood of its ever being undone to any purpose. The only adequate plan in such a case is to print the various texts in parallel columns” (p. 142). And above he had already written that when widely variant texts are amalgamated in this way, “it is absolutely impossible for anyone to take a bird’s-eye view, far less form a comparative and critical estimate” of them.

This is unquestionably true of these *Bruts* in both Cleopatra B.V. and the “Book of Basingwerk.” The number of *facts* which appear in these Chronicles, and which are not found in the above-mentioned *Brut y Tywysogion*, number approximately seventy-five items to 1066, which entitles them to a respectful analysis both as to content and for underlying sources—especially where material for the Welsh history of this period is scanty. The presence of so many additional facts was, doubtless, the reason why Owen attempted to collate them with the *Red Book* and Hengwrt texts, but it is strange that he never alludes to the wide differences, nor to an equally significant fact, namely, that a *Brut y Saeson* text *actually occurs* in the *Red Book*, following the *Brut y Tywysogion*. This he did not see fit to use : and in turn it varies con-

siderably from those of a similar title in our two MSS. Moreover, the manner in which these two texts were collated by Owen, leaves the impression that the variants placed by him within brackets or in the notes, indicates *all* the variations that there are,—but this is not the case, as a simple reading of the actual MSS. proves. Students using this text, therefore, confidently quote the readings from these MSS., though a reference to the originals often reveals variations which Owen saw fit to overlook.

In addition to this, the descriptions given of this portion of these MSS. leaves one with the feeling that they were of little value, and hardly worth serious investigation. Note 4 on page 95 of the Preface, referring to the *Brut y Saeson* in the Cleopatra B.V. MS. reads: "The compilation called '*Brut y Saeson*,' or Chronicle of the Saxons, is a corrupted version of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, amalgamated with the *Annales Wyntonienses*, in order to connect and detail contemporaneous occurrences in England and Wales. The portion relating to Welch events is very carelessly constructed, the facts in many instances perverted, and the language frequently obscure. A copy of this compilation is in the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum, Cleopatra A. XIV." The last MS. cited, however, does not contain a *Brut y Saeson* at all, or any other *Brut*; but is entirely devoted to the Laws of Howel Dda. (It is the MS. W of Owen's *Laws and Institutes of Wales*.) As the note is designed to elucidate the Cleopatra B. V. text, we are at a loss to discover *any* manuscript in the British Museum which could have been intended—no other version of the *Brut y Saeson* being known among the manuscripts there, then as now.

The statement in the note as to the composition of the *Brut y Saeson* is repeated in the Preface, page 95, of the *Monumenta*: "This copy is called '*Brut y Saeson*,' and

consists of the usual Welch text [whatever that is?], mixed with a Welch version of considerable portions of the Winchester Annals of Richard of Devizes, and of a few excerpts from other English writers, which it has not been deemed necessary to notice as various readings." The same sentence appears a third time in note *a* on page 841, so the Editors may be said to have firmly believed it.

Turning to these *Annales Monasterii de Wintonæ*, published in the Rolls Series by H. R. Luard from MS. Cotton Domitian A. XIII, we find that the forepart,—that is from its opening in A.D. 519 to 1066,—is "an exact copy" (with two or three "trifling additions") of an unpublished chronicle, ascribed by Bale to Richard of Devizes, and preserved at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (No. 339). The earlier part of this Chronicle is said to be taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth.¹ Luard describes the Cambridge MS. briefly as follows: "This is a small quarto, on parchment, of 24 leaves, and, like the Cotton MS., is bound up with the life of Richard I. by Richard of Devizes. It has been ascribed to Richard of Devizes by Bale, though there seems no authority beyond the fact that both these MSS. give it in the same hand with the acknowledged work of that author. The chronicle begins with a description of Britain, the early portion being chiefly taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and goes down to the year 1135." This Cambridge manuscript, as said, has never been published.²

Waiving the question of authorship, we find that a small portion of the text of the Domitian MS. printed by Luard, which begins in A.D. 519, and which copies exactly the earlier Cambridge MS. No. 339, covers the later period

¹ Cf. Gross, *Sources of English History*, no. 1696. p. 264, and Luard, vol. ii, of *Annales Monastici* in the Rolls Series, p. xi. The following quotation is from the same page.

² The writer has rotographs covering the earlier portion.

in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, which ends in A.D. 689. But certain facts, even in this printed portion from these manuscripts, could not have been derived from Geoffrey. It is customary (since a native written source is denied Geoffrey) to assume that any chronicle or nearly contemporary manuscript that mentions King Arthur, or Lear, or Brutus, eponymous hero of Britain, or any other king not mentioned by Gildas, Bede or "Nennius," must *ipso facto* derive from Geoffrey, and consequently be dated after him. Because this is certainly true, or a fair inference, about certain writers, it is not by any means proved to be true of all (such as e.g., MSS. B. and C. of the *Annales Cambriæ*). It is highly probable that it is not the case with this early Cambridge MS., which became incorporated into the Annals of Winchester. Even Luard, who refers to Giles' text of Geoffrey for the Arthurian passages, is forced to admit, for portions in the historic gap between Geoffrey (689) and later twelfth century historians, that if Richard of Devizes (d. c. 1202) "were the author of this chronicle, he had access to other authorities besides the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (p. XII), which is the only contemporary account of this interim period that has survived. If we analyze the Arthurian passages, we find notable additions and contradictory details, brief as these entries are. The first printed paragraph, corrected from MS. 339, f. 9^{vo}, ll. 25-29, reads :

DXIX. Cerditius rex westsaxonum [annis xv].¹ Toto tempore quo arturus occupatus erat in Galliis, saxones fatiebant sibi munitiones super omnes colles et montes excelsos. quorum nestigia remanent usque hodie. Cerditius mortuus est ante reditum arturi in britanniam. et sepultus in winton. et post illum regnavit Cenricus filius ejus.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in the Parker and Laud MSS.—in fact, in all the versions,—gives the following

¹ Added above the line, probably later.

entry under 519 : “ This year Cerdic and Cynric obtained the kingdom of the West-Saxons ; and the same year they fought against the Britons, where it is now named Cerdicsford. And from that time forth the royal offspring of the West Saxons reigned.” Several genealogies further on are traced back to this first Saxon king, and the initial year of his reign would be a natural starting point for the annals of Winchester, a central, and one of the most important towns of the West-Saxons. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* also notices Cerdic’s death in 534, after a reign of 15 years. These dates coincide with those of the *Annales De Wintonia* and the Cambridge MS. But the latter give us the additional information that Cerdic was buried at Winchester, which appears in no other early chronicle and represents a local tradition,—whether fictitious or not is irrelevant. It also informs us that during the fifteen years of his reign, 519 to 534, the Saxons built fortifications on the tops of all the hills and high mountains—another fact not mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in Geoffrey, or in any other source. Further, the writer adds that the ruins or vestiges of these remain until his day—the remark of an early and interested observer. It is hardly likely that this writer, and this writer only, should have added such a detail, unless he were expressing what to him was a simple fact—nor is there any conceivable motive for inventing it. Again, he makes the highly important statement that the Saxons were making these fortifications the whole time King Arthur was invading Gaul. Nothing remotely like this occurs in Geoffrey, and it is in contradiction with the facts as given by Geoffrey. The latter, to begin with, clearly dates Arthur’s long campaign in Gaul during the nine years from 533 to the summer of 541 (Bk. IX cap. 11 ; taken with his wintering in Gaul 541-2, X. 23 ; and the date of

his death given as 542), while the twelve preceding years, 521 to 533, he resided at home in peace (IX. 10)—just the years of Cerdic's reign as given by the Cambridge MS. The two years before that, 519 to 521, are filled (in Geoffrey's account) with the conquest of the invading Saxons, Picts, Scots, and Irish.

Finally, the statement that "Cerdic died before the return of Arthur to Britain," flatly contradicts Geoffrey, who states that Modred (XI. 1) sent Chelricus, the Saxon leader, to Germany, there to raise all the forces he could to withstand Arthur's return from the Continent,—which he did, returning with eight hundred ships full of soldiers, and fighting in the subsequent battles against Arthur. His death in the last battle of Camlan is listed at the end of the next chapter.¹ This statement therefore, that Cerdic died before the return of Arthur, could never have come from Geoffrey, and reveals another source, now lost.

The very next entry in the Cambridge MS. (those printed between them by Luard are marginal), reads :

DXXXIV. Cenricus filius cerditii rex westsaxonum. [annis xxv.ⁱⁱⁱⁱ.] Anno istius septimo, arturus post strages regum multorum et principum. post infinitas animas missas ad inferos. post lucii decapitationem, audita temeritate modredi non multum doluisset nisi modredus torum etiam suum ascendere presumpsisset Reducto igitur exercitu in britanniam, commisso prelio eum modredo nepote suo. Modredus occubuit et arturus unlheratus portatus in insulam auallonis, futuris de se fabulam fecit. Constantinus autem filius cadoris ducis cornubie occisi in galliis, factus est rex britonum.

This passage is equally interesting for its differences from Geoffrey. The date of Arthur's death in 542 is apparently known, because the seventh year of Cenricus'

¹ The spelling *Chelricus* is derived from Un. Col. Cambr. MS. II, I, 14=No. 1706, fols. 113 *vo.*, l. 22, and 115 *vo.*, l. 5; and Berne MS., Codex 568, Nl. 8, fol. 72 *recto*, l. 20. The printed texts of Giles and San Marte are manifestly wrong, and depend on Commelin and Ascansius. MS. 339 has *Cerditius* changed once to *Cheldricum*.

reign after 534, is 541-2, counting *more Latino*. This confirms the different dating of Arthur's wars in Gaul, given in the preceding entry, and shows that both dates were known to the writer. They could not have been derived from the *Annales Cambriæ*. Second, Lucius, the Roman "emperor," is said to have been beheaded. In Geoffrey, a great point is made that he was killed with a *spear* by some unknown hand in the *melée*. This variation from Geoffrey may be literary license on the part of the writer (if two such bare chronicle entries may be termed literature), but taken in conjunction with the other variations, it is significant. Wace (vv. 13,361-72) and Lazamon (v. 27,843) both emphasise the spear; Henry of Huntingdon in his letter to Warinus omits the incident. Next, the MS. says that Arthur "killed Modred." Geoffrey does not say this, but merely that, "In this assault [of a special company of 6,666 men] fell the wicked traitor himself, and many thousands with him." Henry of Huntingdon in the letter to Warinus, differs from Geoffrey in many points, but in none more than in this; and he specifically says that Arthur "*gladio per aciem viam sibi parans, in medio suorum Modredum galea arripuit, et collum loricatum velut stipulam gladio rese-cavit.*"¹ Benedict of Gloucester, writing about, or shortly after, the middle of the twelfth century, also makes Arthur kill Modred—"At ille robustius in Modredum irruens extemplo prostravit, atque cum multis suorum in Cocitum direxit."² When, therefore, we find that at least one Welsh version equally independent in detail of Geoffrey, also makes Arthur kill Modred personally, the

¹ Vol. iv in Rolls Series *Chronicles of Stephen, etc., The Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, edited by Richard Howlett, p. 74.

² *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii, p. 660—"Benedictus Claudiocestrensis de Vita S. Dubricii Archiepiscopi".

survival of another account is at least worthy of consideration.¹

Finally, the Cambridge MS. knows, not only that Arthur was wounded and taken to the isle of Avallon, but that he made a fable about himself for the future. There is not a word of this theme of Arthur's second coming, and the fables either invented by himself or made about him, in Geoffrey. The belief in Arthur's second coming has been proved to have been known before Geoffrey's time, and is mentioned by Henry of Huntingdon; the knowledge of it by the Cambridge MS. writer, in juxtaposition with all the above variants, seems to disprove entirely the use of Geoffrey for a source. Nor can Henry of Huntingdon be this source, as there are facts not in Henry, and Henry's expressions are not used.

This rather long digression is justified if it proves, what

¹ Jesus MS. xxviii, fol. 84 *vo*, ll. 1-2, following Jesus lxi, has: Ac ar y rythyr hwnnw y lladdoedd ev Vedrot a milioedd gydac ef, "and in that onrush he killed Medrod and thousands with him." The "Book of Basingwerk", p. 182, col. a, l. 20, has: Ac yny Ruthr hwnnw y llas medrod ac aneirif o bobl gyd ac ef,— "And in that attack (onrush) was killed Medrod and *innumerable of people* together with him." Cleopatra B. V., fol. 96, l. 3—Ac ynŷ ruthŷr hwnnw ŷllas medrawt a milioed ŷgŷt ac ef.— "And in that attack *was killed* Medrawd and *thousands* together with him." It is instructive to compare these with Geoffrey, who does not mention Mordred directly but elaborates with an epithet:

Concidit nāq; nefand' ille p'ditor · 7 multa milia secū. MS. li, 1, l4, fol. 115, last line. The Berne MS. reads: Concidit namq; p'ditor ille nefandus. z multa milia secum: fol. 73, l, 2. The *Red Book* improves on Geoffrey—*e.g.* Kanys yny lle y dygwydwys yr yscymunedickaf vradwr hwnnw gan vedrawt a hawer o vilioed y gyt ac ef. (p. 232).

This writer has him excommunicated as well as traitorous. Are all these translations of Geoffrey? In the *Red Book* there is a *copyist's* error—p. 285, l. 21-22, gan for gau ("by means of" for "false"), which occurs also in the Dingestow Court MS.

we think it does prove, not only that the Annals of Winchester, and the Cambridge MS. that underlies this part of it (which stops with A.D. 1135), could not have depended on Geoffrey, but that the earlier MS. possessed sources of information no longer extant, and of local, native material, and this as well for the period included by Geoffrey, as subsequently. For in the later part of these chronicles (after 689), which embrace the same period as the *Brut y Saeson* in the *Book of Basingwerk*, we find the same differences, and that exactly the same principle applies; and neither Aneurin Owen, nor Sharpe, nor Ab Ithel, nor anyone else has ever put this portion to a critical analysis. If the *Brut y Saeson* be "a corrupted version of the Brut y Tywysogion, amalgamated with the Annales Wyntonienses," how is it that *facts* not in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, but which are in the *Brut y Saeson*, are *not to be found* in the *Annales Wyntonienses*, or its prototype? To account for these new facts as in every case compiled or extracted from a wide range of obscure monastic chronicles and local histories, in which some of them are to be found (though differently worded and often in a variety of contexts), is to argue that the original compiler, let alone Gutyn Owain, had access to materials spread all over England and Ireland in the fifteenth century, which have been available, concentrated in one place, and deposited in public institutions, only since the advent of printing, and the establishment of great Collections of Sources. Moreover, there are beyond dispute certain details nowhere else recorded, but which are strictly confined to these two Welsh versions. Nor can anyone reasonably explain, if their compilers did draw from English sources, "corrupting" their own Welsh sources in the process of amalgamation, why it is that they copied to such little purpose, chose the least interesting or valuable details,

and produced as a net result in these particular Welsh chronicles, so relatively barren an historic contribution.

It is manifestly far easier to accept the survival, to the time of these compilers, of a restricted body of local records and details,—which, just because it was “worked up” and “modernized” by them in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, became relegated to a position of secondary importance and thereafter perished,—than it is to assume that a Welsh bard or abbey chronicler made “a few excerpts from other English writers,” all of a curiously insignificant nature. Furthermore, we have compilations of this specific variety entirely distinct in style and result, represented by such a manuscript as that which appears to be by Gutyn Owain himself, numbered cxli in Jesus College, where the sources are *listed*, e.g., “nid amgen Oraei^{us} [Oracius=Orosius] . Plinius . Ysidorus . Solinus . Gildas ap Caw . Beda . Albryt . *Gwallder o ryt ychen* [Walter, the archdeacon of Oxford] . Gruff . Mynnwy [Geoffrey of Monmouth] . Gerald archddiagon llanddaf . Wiliam Malmesburi . Harri archddiagon Hyn-tynton . Johanis yn y poli craticon . Randwlf yny poli cronica Ac ereill mwy,” etc.¹ Gutyn Owain (if the writer) says that he translated “for the benefit of those who are poor in books, and hungry for knowledge . . . from a small Latin book”—and the MS. is a sketchy “History of the world from Adam to A.D. 1471.” That a Latin history, unless compiled by a Welshman, should have used Walter of Oxford, together with Geoffrey of Monmouth, as a source, is a subject worthy of investigation. But such a compilation is entirely distinct from Peniarth 20, or

¹ fol. 124^b; cf. Evans’ citation in *H. MSS. Com.* ii, pp. 35-6; italics ours.

the *Brut y Saeson* in *Cleopatra B.V.* and the "Book of Basingwerk."

This point needs to be driven home, because it has become almost habitual to take one or two very early and fragmentary manuscripts (which, because of the age of the manuscripts themselves, assume a special importance)—such as a "Nennius," a Gildas, or the *Annales Cambrie*—as the original fountain head of actual knowledge to all who come after them. Bede, also, and the various versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* are treated in much the same way, as if later writers always had just the correct manuscripts to supply them with the necessary details. These survivals of primary sources almost without exception give evidence of using written records that preceded them, if they do not specifically mention "old books," or "writings of our fathers"; and it is a mistake to assume that allusions in later writers which have some connection with details in these, must inevitably be taken from them, amplified or condensed to suit the occasion. No one can maintain that they were not perpetually read and copied; but they nevertheless were not themselves original creations, but rather in their turn users, of older records; and there is a fringe of independent and early material in later chroniclers which is too often passed over as the invention of the particular writer, and which has never been put together, or given thorough critical attention.

Two illustrations will, perhaps, serve to make this clear, as well as to show how difficult it is to read accurately from such mixed together and composite texts, as that of the *Monumenta* (and of the Rolls text of *Ab Ithel*, which merely reproduced that of the *Monumenta*).

The *Red Book* reads for its seventh sentence : Ac yn oes hwnnw y bu uarwolyaeth yn Iwerdon—"And then in his time it came to pass that there was a mortality in Ireland,"—the prince referred to being, because of the careless construction of the text, Rodri Moelwynog, who reigned after Ivor, son of Cadwalader. The date of Cadwalader's death is given in the opening sentence as A.D. 681; Ivor reigned 48 years (37 in Bede and the *A.S. Chronicle*), which gives A.D. 729, when Rodri ascended the throne. Then comes the statement as to the mortality in Ireland. The dating is manifestly faulty. The whole paragraph reads : "And after Cadwalader reigned Ivor, son of Alan king of Armorica, which is called Little Britain; and not as king, but as chief or prince. And he exercised government over the Britons for forty eight years, and then it came to pass that he died. And Rodri Moelwynog reigned after him. And in his time there was a mortality in Ireland." Compare this with the parallel passage in the "*Book of Basingwerk*" and Cleopatra B.V., literally translated : "Ivor the son of Alan and Ynyr his nephew came with their armies with them to Lloegyr [England] as has been told above [a reference to Geoffrey], that was 683 years after the birth of God, and against them came out the Saxons and fought them hard and manfully and fiercely, and in this fighting very many were killed on both sides. And in the end Ivor overcame, and mustered Cornwall and dyfneint [Devonshire] and the summer land [Somerset]. And then the Saxons summoned their full strength, and went out against Ivor : then the nobles came between them, and they were pacified. And then he [Ynyr] took Ethelburga as his wife, and then he caused a priory of monks to be founded at Glastonburie, at his own costs, and that under the direction of Adelmus the monk a saint of that house. And in

the second year after the coming of Ivor to this island [i.e. 685] there was a deadly plague [mortality] in Ireland.”¹

We may search in vain for this paragraph in the *Brut y Tywysogion* (at least, in any of the available versions under discussion), and equally in vain for certain details in the *Annales De Wintonia* as printed by Luard, or in the Cambridge MS. Nor are these details in the *Annales Cambriae*, in Bede, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in William of Malmesbury’s *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, or any primary source we have discovered. Ethelburga is mentioned in the *Annales De Wintonia*,

¹ Fol. 109 *verso* and 110 *recto* of Cotton Cleop. B.V. Cf. p. 652, *Myryrian Archaeology of Wales* (2d. ed.). The “Book of Basingwerk” varies characteristically, as follows, p. 200, col. a, lines 10 to 33.

EF a ddoeth Ivor ac ynyr ir
tir a llu mawr ganthvnt
Sef oedd hynny gwedi geni krist
tair blynedd a phledwar vgain a
chwech kant Ac ym herbyn
hwyntev y doeth y saeson ac
ymladd ac wynt yn wychr grevl :
onn ac ynyr ymladd hwnnw y
llas llawer o bob tv ac or diwedd
y gorvv ivor a goresgyn kern :
yw a dyfnaint a gwlad yr haf
Ac yna yr aeth y saeson i gyn :
vll gwyr i vyned am benn ivor
Ac y doeth gwyrda ai tangneve :
ddv. Ac yna y kymmerth ivor [!]
etheburga yn wraic iddaw ac
ef a beris gwnevthur freutur
menaich yng lasenburi ar i
gost e hvn a hynny drwy lyw :
odraeth aldehn’ mynach sant
or ty Ac ynyr ail vlwyddyn
gwedy dyvod ivor yr ynys
honn y bu varvolaeth vawr
yn ewerddon

The way these texts are used in the *Monumenta*, is well illustrated by both the inclusions and omissions from this paragraph. Cf. p. 841.

which in the original MS. 339, f. 10^{vo}, l. 23 ff., reads : "Ina rex westsaxonum. Iste construxit cenobium Glastonie, et per manum sancti aldelmi monacos inposuit. Iste cum regina sua ethelburga roman petiit," etc., giving a modified version of Ini's famous pilgrimage to Rome, which appears in brief in the Parker MS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, under A.D. 688—but not in the Laud MS. E, where only Cadwalader is given (as in Geoffrey); though in this last MS. there is an entry under A.D. 726 : "This year Ina went to Rome, and there gave up his life."¹ Ini's (or Ina's) trip to Rome (*sub an.* 725) is given briefly by Bede (*H.E.*, V, vii); more elaborately and with added detail by Roger of Wendover under the date 727 (ed. Coxe, Vol. I, p. 215); and in Symeon of Durham (*Monumenta H. B.*, p. 674, A.). No one of these accounts contains all the detail appearing in the others. Ivor's fight with the Saxons, his "mustering" Cornwall, Devon and Somerset, and the peace made between him and the Saxons through the intervention of his nobles, does not occur in the available sources, and is not mentioned by Professor J. E.

¹ Cf. the dates in the various MSS., e.g. 728 and 726. Ini's journey to Rome nowhere occurs in the *Red Book* nor does it appear in the *Monumenta*. It is given, however (though omitted by Owen in both text and footnotes), under the year dccxx in the *Brut y Saeson*, the date being more nearly correct than in MS. 339, where a later marginal date is added—dc.lxxxiiij., though as Ivor's death is mentioned, and the next entry in 721 gives the new king of the West Saxons, it is possible to infer the latter date. "anno dom. dccxx happened the muggy (hot) summer. and Ivor the son of Alan saw that it was vain to put one's trust in this world. he parted with his wealth. he and his wife put on shabby wordly garments and went to worship God at Rome. And God made for them a great acceptance wherever they went through the towns and cities. and they passed through the town or city and no one laid a hand upon them". (fol. 110^{vo}; Canon Jones' translation). This is not directly derived from any other account. Cf. the "Book of Basingwerk", with verbal differences, pp. 200-201; col. b, l. 27 to col. a, l. 4.

Lloyd in his *History of Wales* as it is not printed in the *Monumenta* or *Rolls* texts. Whether Ivor did or did not rule over these parts of England, *wherefrom did the compiler of the Brut y Saeson derive his information?* It seems hardly critical to assume for all such entries that they were deliberate invention on the part of a fourteenth or fifteenth century writer.

Nor does the fact that the mortality in Ireland occurred in Ivor's *second year* appear in these other sources (the *Monumenta* adopts this date); on the contrary, the *Annales Cambriæ* (MS. Harleian 3859) give an earlier date, and place it one year after the death of Cadwalader: "An', Mortalitas in hibernia", [444 + 'ccxl-i = 683]. Neither Ivor nor Ini (Ynyr) is there mentioned.¹

This is no place to decide either the historic accuracy of the contributions made by the *Brut y Saeson* in the "Book of Basingwerk" (or Cleopatra B.V.) nor all the possible sources, beyond those given by the Editors of the *Monumenta*. But when we find the unqualified statements

¹ The *Annals of Tigernach*, an Irish Monk who died c. 1088, have three entries in Latin in the text under this head:

[682] Initium mortalitaitis puerorum in mense Ochtimbrí(s).

[683] Kl. Mortaili[ta]s paruolorum . . .

[684] Kl. Uentus magnus terri motus in Ibernia insola . .

Text of Whitley Stokes, *Revue Celtique*, 1896, vol. 17, p. 208. This is local corroboration of the strongest sort, each account being independent in detail, and the Irish naturally fuller. Cf. *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, ed. O'Connor, vol. ii, pp. 212-3. Under 685, Florence of Worcester has: "Magna pestilentie procella Britanniam corripit, lata nece vastavit". *M. H. B.*, p. 537, A. The *Annals by the Four Masters* have: "A.C. 684: A mortality upon all animals in general, throughout the whole world, for the space of three years, so that there escaped not one out of the thousand of any kind of animals". Adamnan also mentions the same pestilence. The differences between these accounts seem to preclude mere copying one from the other, but the records and memory of it survived over a wide area.

made that the "earlier portion" of *Brut y Tywysogion* "appears to have been translated from the 'Annales Cambriæ'" (which in another place are said in all probability to have been in their turn translated from the Welsh, a supposition which later critical analysis has amply demonstrated), and that the *Brut y Saeson* is a "corrupted version" of the *Brut y Tywysogion* "amalgamated" with the Annals of Winchester, and when we find on close scrutiny that facts appear in the *Brut y Saeson* which appear in no one of these sources (nor in any other source in a few cases), we claim that the *Brut y Saeson* has not been adequately analyzed nor properly edited. If this be true of the *Brut y Saeson* section of our manuscripts, it is even more true of the *Brut y Brenhined* section, which has been frequently referred to as both printed in full and translated, but which has so far never been printed at all, and only in a small portion translated.

One further illustration less complicated than the above may serve to prove decisively the need for an adequate editing of these Welsh texts. We have stated already that all of the *Brut y Saeson* in the "Book of Basingwerk" is in the autograph of Gutyn Owain (c. 1470), and that his version follows the *Brut y Saeson* in MS. Cleopatra B.V., undoubtedly earlier as a manuscript in this portion, but with constant differences of phraseology and some variation in facts. To begin with, Offa is mentioned in the *Annales Cambriæ*, Harleian MS. 3859 (a tenth century fragment), as follows:

[778=444	an'. Vastatio britonum dexteralium apud
+ CCCXXX ÷ 4	offa.
successive anni]	an'. — an'. — an'. — an'. — an'.
[784]	an'. CCCXL. Vastati brittonum. cum offa
	in estate. ("We must either read
	<i>Vastatio</i> or <i>brittones</i> "; note loc.
	cit.).

- an'. (repeated ten, not nine, times).
 an'. CCCL.
 [796] an'. Primus adventus gentilium. Apud
 dexterale adhiberniam.
 [797=6⁹] an'. Offa rex merciorum. & morgetiud. rex
 demetorum. morte moriuntur. et
 bellum rud glann.¹

The *Red Book* has, dating by decades only :

- [770] Seven hundred and seventy was the year of Christ when the Pasch of the Britons was altered by the command of Elbot, a man of God. And then it came to pass that there died Ffermail the son of Idwal, and Cubert the abbot. And there was the destruction of the south-region [*i.e.* South Wales] men by Offa the king.
 [780] Seven hundred and eighty was the year of Christ when Offa the king laid waste the Britons in Summer time.
 [790] Seven hundred and ninety was the year of Christ when came the Pagans first to Ireland. And then died Offa the king. And Maredud the king died. And there was a battle in Rudlan.²

These entries may be "translated from the *Annales Cambriæ*", but if so, the dates have not only been miscalculated, but changed, and the spelling has been suspiciously altered. The differences, taken together with the similarities, suggest rather a source common to the *Annales Cambriæ* than a mere translation of it. Similar alterations and additions in other portions strongly tend to confirm this impression.

¹ The "*Annales Cambriæ*" and *Old Welsh Genealogies from "Harleian MS."* 3859, in *Y Cymmrodor*, vol. ix, pp. 162-3, ed. by Egerton Phillimore. The italics represent extended abbreviations. Phillimore points out in note 5 that the "cum" of the second entry "must be a mistake in translating the Old-Welsh *cant* (now *gan*) which meant 'by' as well as 'with'." It is by means of such points that the original Welsh basis of these Latin *Annales* is established.

² *Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*, by Rhys and Evans, p. 258. It would be difficult to express sufficient gratitude to Dr. Evans for the reproduction of some of the important MSS. of his native land.

Under 755, the Laud MS. of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says that: "Offa drove out Beornred and obtained the kingdom, and held it thirty-nine winters"—that is, to 794, under which date it notes his death. (Symeon of Durham copies this sentence.) Nothing is said of his campaigns against the Welsh, and no mention is made of his famous dyke.

Under 787 in MS. F. of this *Chronicle* we find that there "came three ships of Northmen out of Herethaland" [Denmark]. Five years later under 794 it again speaks of "the ravaging heathen men". All the dates differ from the *Bruts* and *Annales Cambriæ*, and the last entry may parallel the first coming of "the Pagans to Ireland *apud dexterates*." The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* could not have served as source, though the obvious interrelation serves to confirm the incidents common to both.

The *Annales De Wintonia* and the Cambridge MS. have no regular entry about Offa at all, but in the *margin* of the latter is added, under the date DCCLXIII, "Offa rex Merciorum,"—no more (fol. 11^{rec.}). No detail, therefore, in the *Brut y Saeson* could be derived here.

But the *Brut y Saeson* in Cleopatra B.V. which we quote first as probably older, and briefer, than the "Book of Basingwerk" version, gives interesting additions which are not in any of these other sources, Welsh or Saxon. The passage, after several preliminary paragraphs not in the *Red Book* (omitted in the *Monumenta* and Rolls texts), reads as follows, literally translated:

[776] DCCLXXVI, the men of south wales [cymre] ravaged the island unto Offa king of Mercia.

[784] DCCLXXXIII, in this summer, the Welsh ravaged the lands of Offa. And then Offa caused to be made a dyke as a boundary between him and Wales so that it should be easier for him to withstand the attack of his enemies. And this is called Offa's Dyke from then until to-day.

- [795] DCCCLXXXV, the pagans came into Ireland for the first time and destroyed Rechreyn.
 [796] DCLXXXVI, And then it was died Offa king of Mercia. and then it was died Maredud the king of Dyued, and then happened the fight of Rudelan.¹

Again it is noteworthy that in the *Monumenta* the dating of this Cotton MS. is adopted throughout, and placed by the Editors in the margin, often correcting the errors or omissions made by the *Red Book* and the versions following it.

The general similarity of these passages is manifest, but the additions of the *Brut y Saeson* are striking. The destruction of Rechryn in Ireland is in none of the other sources.² This is of considerable interest, as there is a different and fuller record of it in several of the Irish annals. The particular period is unfortunately wanting in the MS. of Tigernach, but in the *Four Masters* there is the following entry: "The Age of Christ 790 [rectè 795]. . . . The burning of Reachrainn by plunderers; and its shrines were broken and plundered."³ In a note, O'Donovan, the editor of these *Annals*, tells us that: "This was one of the ancient names of the Island of Rathlinn, off the north coast of the county of Antrim [directly across from Wales]; but it was also the ancient name of Lambay, near Dublin, which is probably the place here referred to." The *Annals of Ulster* as given by

¹ Folio 111 verso ff. Cf. *Myv. Arch. of Wales*, 1870, p. 653, middle col. b; also the "Book of Basingwerk," p. 202, col. a, l. 17 ff. Cf. below, p. 106, for the Welsh text from the "Book of Basingwerk".

² It is to be found in another independent Welsh *Brut*, Peniarth MS. 20, the C of the *Monumenta* and Rolls texts, a manuscript of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, and almost certainly no earlier than the *Cleopatra B. V. as a manuscript*. It seems to use much the same material, and to supply a very similar *version* to that of our two manuscripts. Cf. below, pp. 104, ff.

³ O'Donovan. *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, 2d ed. vol. i, p. 397.

O'Connor, under A.D. 794, have : *Losgad Rachrainne o gentib 7 scrioscradh 7 dolomrad*, i.e.—The burning of Rachrainne by Gentiles, and the ravaging and despoiling of the shrines."¹ The *Four Masters*, be it remembered, were compiled from earlier sources between 1632 and 1636, considerably later than our Welsh compilation. An English translation, made in the seventeenth century, of the *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, which contain some material not in the earlier MSS. of the *Four Masters* (A. & B.), reads : "A.D. 794. The burning of Rechraimn by Gentiles, who spoyled and impovrished the shrines" (fol. 49). This confirms the translation and interpretation of the text given by O'Donovan. In the *Annals of Ulster*, however, edited more recently by William M. Hennessy for the Royal Irish Academy (who had access to all the MSS., some of which O'Donovan never saw), the manuscript abbreviations of certain words in the above sentence are interpreted as follows : "The burning of Rechra by Gentiles, and Sci was pillaged and wasted." The *Annals of Ulster* unquestionably formed one of the sources used by the *Four Masters*, and represents entries of undoubtedly great antiquity. For *Sci* in this text, the *Four Masters* read a *Scrine*=shrines, which, notes Hennessy, "seems an error. The compiler of these Annals [of Ulster] evidently meant to say that Skye was pillaged and wasted."² The oldest MS. of these *Annals of Ulster* (M.S. A=No. H. 1. 8 in Library of Trinity College, Dublin) is "of the

¹ O'Connor, *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, vol. iv, *Annales Ultonienses*, p. 117. O'Donovan in a note to the above citation, quotes the Irish, probably more accurately, as follows : "Losgad Rachrainne o Gentib ocus a scrine do coscradh ocus do lomrad".

² *Annals of Ulster*, otherwise *Annals Senat*, ed. by Wm. M. Hennessy, Dublin, 1887, vol. i, p. 275 and note 10.

fifteenth and sixteenth centuries," again unquestionably later *as a manuscript* than our Welsh manuscript. So apparently the earliest *manuscript* record of the burning of the island of Rathlinn by the Danes occurs in a Welsh chronicle, our Cotton Cleopatra B.V. The incident seems to have passed unrecorded in the other chronicles.

Therefore the question at once arises, Could the compilers of the fourteenth or fifteenth century *Brut y Saeson* have taken this little statement of the destruction of Rechrŷn from one or another early copy of these Irish Annals, and almost exclusively this one little statement from them, changing the mistaken date (790 or 794 to 795) given in the surviving Irish chronicles, suppressing the interesting detail about either Skye or the shrines being plundered, and omitting all the other information with which these Irish Annals are filled? This hardly seems a reasonable hypothesis; in fact, the theory seems utterly untenable and subversive of all canons of sound literary or historical criticism. There is every inference in favour of the Welsh compiler having fragmentary but fairly reliable local records on which he drew, quite independent of written Irish Annals.

Offa's dyke is also introduced in this paragraph by the *Brut y Saeson*. This detail is too important in its bearing to be noticed incidentally. It illustrates directly the subject before us, and will require a separate and careful consideration. To begin with, not only is Offa's dyke mentioned, but Offa's two expeditions against the Welsh are ignored, and instead two warlike enterprises of the Welsh are recorded, one a foray up to (and probably into) the territory of Offa, king of Mercia, and the second a specific attack against him. Their success was the cause

of Offa's building the dyke, and is the logical sequence for a native Welsh account. Saxon writers, however, note Offa's counter-attacks, which, as they are described as successful—"devastating" South Wales—in no way explain the need for a boundary protection.

The fact that Offa did construct a dyke, remains of which are still conspicuous landmarks, is accepted by modern scholars.¹ A great body of local tradition from earliest records has attributed the remains to Offa. Asser, a south Welshman writing for Welshmen, in his *De Rebus Gestis Aelfredi*, composed c. A.D. 894, only a hundred years later, says that :

"Fuit in Mercia . . . formidolosus rex nomine
Offa; qui vallum magnum inter
Britanniam atque Merciam de mari usque
ad mare facere imperavit".

(M. H. B., p. 471, D.)

This passage Symeon of Durham, in his *Historia Regum*, incorporates practically verbatim : "Rex autem Brictric Occidentalium Saxonum accepit sibi in conjugium Eadburgam, quæ erat filia regis Merciorum nomine Offa, qui vallum magnum inter Britanniam atque Merciam, id est, de mari usque ad mare facere imperavit."² In a *Life of St. Oswald*, said by its editor, Thomas Arnold, to be by one Reginald, a monk at Farne, written c. 1165, and found in one of the manuscripts together with the work of Symeon, there is a more extended passage which does not appear to have depended upon the foregoing, but to reflect more detailed local and native information of exactly the kind which we find in these *Bruts*. It is highly improbable that the author of the *Brut* could have

¹ Cf. the article by A. N. Palmer, *I' Cymmrodor*, vol. xiii, pp. 65-86; and J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales*, vol. i, pp. 198 ff., with sources.

² *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. by Thomas Arnold as no. 75 of the Rolls Series—vol. ii, p. 66; italics ours.

seen this particular life of St. Oswald, and if he did, he did not use all the information contained therein. The passage, descriptive of Maserfield, where a battle had been fought, reads as follows :

“ And this place is distant from the dyke of king Offa, which divides England and northern Wales, hardly half a mile, and from Shrewsbury fully seven miles, and from Wenlock Abbey towards the southern quarter about sixteen miles. The aforesaid dyke king Offa completed at a former time, protected by which fortification, he remained forthwith safe from his enemies the Welsh. For in his time perpetual strife existed between himself and the Welsh, because he could by no means prevail to avoid their attack or ambushes save by this protection. Therefore, from sea to sea he surrounded almost his whole territory towards Wales, and he set this dyke as a boundary of the territory of each.”¹

It is highly interesting that this writer departs from the earlier Saxon version of the “ devastations ” of Wales by Offa, and admits that the cause for Offa’s building a dyke was not so much to restrain himself (as it were) from perpetually conquering the Welsh, as to protect himself from their incessant border forays—“ because he could by no means prevail to avoid their attack or ambushes save by this protection.” This bears out our Welsh chronicler in every way. The phrase “ a mari ergo usque ad mare ” is so natural and inevitable a description of the dyke that

¹ *Vita S. Oswaldi in Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, Rolls Series, ed. by Thomas Arnold, 75—vol. i, cap. xiv, p. 353. “ Distatque locus iste a fossa regis Offæ, quæ Angliam et Waliam borealem dividit, miliario non ferme dimidio, et Scropesbyri miliario integre septimo, ab abbazia vero Wanelocæ (*much Wenlock) versus plagam meridianam miliario circiter sextodecimo. Fossam prædictam rex quondam Offa effecerat, ejus munimine vallatus securius ab hostibus suis Walensibus commanebat. Nam suo tempore iuge certamen inter illum et Walenses extitit, quod nullatenus eorum impetus vel insidias nisi hac protectione devitare prævaluit. A mari ergo usque ad mare præne totam terram suam versus Waliam præcinxit, et fossam illam utriusque terræ terminum fore constituit ”.

its re-appearance by no means justifies the statement that Reginald merely copied Symeon or Asser.¹ His definiteness of detail proves local and independent authority in any event.

Walter Map, another Welshman, in his *De Nugis Curialium*, writing a chapter, between 1182 and 1193, on the mythological Wade, ruler of the Hælsings in Widsith,² brings him into contact with Offa, and may reflect in this unique version of the story some lost Anglo-Saxon original. Of Offa he says, giving the Saxon view-point: "This king had shut up the Welshmen in a small corner of Wales, and has surrounded them with a ditch which is still called from his name (Offa's Dyke), and, crossing or passing which, they were made to atone and to moan by the loss of a foot."³ This is certainly not dependent on the preceding sources.

One more early chronicler describes the dyke in detail. Ranulf Higden, a monk of St. Werburg's Abbey, Chester, writing c. 1352, compiled his famous *Polychronicon* from numerous sources, and he gives much careful contemporary geographical information. Among others there is an extended description of Offa's dyke, which in its turn bears all the evidence of local observation and information.

"Moreover king Offa, in order to make a perpetual division between the realms of England and Wales, made a very long

¹ As, for example, does Professor J. A. Lloyd in his *A History of Wales*, vol. i, p. 198, note 19.

² Line 22; cf. p. 194 of Professor Chambers' text of *Widsith*, 1912, with his discussion, pp. 95-100.

³ p. 102 of the translation, just published by Frederick Tupper, Ph. D., and Marbury Bladen Ogle, Ph. D., based on the text edited by Dr. M. R. James, *Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium*, 1914 (*Anecdota Oxoniensia*, xiv)—II, cap. xvii. [See also Dr. M. R. James's translation of *De Nugis Curialium*, No. IX, Cymmrodorion Record Series, p. 91.]

dyke, which, from the south near Bristol, under the Welsh mountains, extends itself continuously to the north, and crosses the rivers Severn and Dee almost at their sources, and this without interruption stretches into the sea at the mouth of the river Dee beyond Chester, near the castle of Flint, between Coleshill and the monastery of Basingwerk. Remains of this most famous dyke are extant to this day, to pass over which with arms in the time of Saint Edward, king of all the Cambrians, was punishable, which thing was continued by count Harold, as is told below; but to-day Welsh with English are intermingled indiscriminately in that place on the further and nearer sides of this dyke, especially in the provinces of Chester, Shropshire and Hereford".¹

The detail, once again, precludes mere copying from earlier writers, and reflects local knowledge, however obtained. It is customary to point out that Wat's dyke, running on an average three miles to the east, and about parallel with Offa's, is visible from Coleshill, and that, in the form of a ditch, it is Wat's dyke, not Offa's, that passes by, and disappears to-day near, Basingwerk Abbey. Higden is therefore accused of having "confounded" the two dykes, and Palmer, in the article cited in *Y Cymrodor*, states that "Gutyn Owen, in his *Book of Basingwerk* (fifteenth century), committed the same blunder" (loc. cit., p. 76).

¹ *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden*, Rolls Series, vol. ii. p. 34, edited by Churchill Babington, 1865. "Insuper et rex Offa, ad perpetuam regnorum Angliæ et Walliæ distinctionem habendam, facit fossam perlongam, quæ ab austro juxta Bristoliam sub montibus Walliæ jugiter se extendit in boream, fluminaque Sabrinæ et Dee in eorum pene primordiis transcendit, et sic usque ad ostium fluminis Dee ultra Cestriam, juxtra castrum de Flynt, inter collem Carbonum et monasterium de Basingwerk, in mare se protendit. Hujus fossæ famosissimæ extant adhuc vestigia, quam cum armis prætergredi tempore Sancti Edwardi regis cunctis Cambrigenis pænale fuit, procurante hoc comite Haraldo, sicut inferius dicitur; sed hodie hinc inde ultra citraque fossam illam potissime in provinciis Cestrie, Salopie, Herfordiæ, Wallici cum Anglis passim sunt permixti".

These statements are typical of the confusion produced by a cursory examination of passages in such a combined text as that in the *Monumenta* (and in the Rolls series). First of all, Wat's dyke—which Palmer thinks with reason is very early, and may also have been built by Offa as it is constructed in exactly the same style, and faces Wales—is locally confused with Offa's dyke—or rather (to quote Palmer) "in the parishes of Hope and Mold, where they are both well known and recognized as distinct, it would be more correct to say that *each is called by the same name*" (p. 75). Edwin Guest in 1858 bears witness to the same confusion, for while he was "examining a portion of Wat's Dyke . . . the whole country assured" him it was "the Clawdd Offa."¹ It seems clear, therefore, that Higden, the "Book of Basingwerk," and others who write of the northern portion of "Offa's dyke" and describe for this northern part what is strictly called "Wat's dyke", were not "mistaken", but on the contrary accurately reflected the local tradition and local misinformation. It took a student and antiquary like Pennant in his *Tour in Wales* (I, 31; cf. 351), to disentangle the facts and correct the popular error into which he himself had once fallen; while the distinction between the two is also known to the mid-sixteenth century compilation known as the *Gwentian Brut* or *Book of Aberpergwm*, published in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales*, which adds the statement, unsupported elsewhere, that Offa built a first dyke in 765, and a later dyke farther east in 784. Because this compilation is so late, and has manifest forgeries in it, no weight is attached to the statement, though Palmer has "little doubt as to Wat's Dyke being the work, if not of Offa himself, of one of the

¹ *Origines Celtica*, 1883, vol. ii, p. 276, reprinted from *Archæologia Cambrensis*, October, 1858.

early Mercian kings, or of one of their warriors" (p. 74).¹

The conclusion to draw from a close analysis of these passages is, therefore, it would seem, that strictly local records and information were available and were drawn upon by a series of writers, who could not all have been copying one from another and who could not all have visited the spot. When, therefore, the Cleopatra B.V. MS. refers briefly and in its own phrases to Offa's dyke, while other manuscript versions of Welsh history do not, we feel that due weight should be given to the statements of this manuscript, which seems to be the first Welsh MS. to mention the dyke.

What, furthermore, does Professor Lloyd mean when he states that there is "no allusion to the dyke in . . . the *older Bruts*", as already quoted? No attempt having been made so far to disentangle the different *versions* of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, much less to estimate the probable age when the material of these different versions was first written down, Professor Lloyd must be referring merely to the age of *manuscripts* of these *Bruts*.² His

¹ *Myryrian Archaeology of Wales*, 2d. ed., p. 686, under the title *Brut y Tywysogion*, sub. an. 765, 784. "After Christ 765, the lands of the March (Mercia) were devastated by the Welsh and they overcame the Saxons and greviously plundered them, and because of this Offa the king of the March built the great dyke as a boundary between the land of Wales and Mercia as it continues for ever".

"After Christ 784, the March was destroyed by the Welsh and Offa made a dyke a second time nearer to himself, and left a tribe land between the Wye and the Severn where is the tribe Elystan Glodrydd ever since they became one of the five royal tribes of Wales". (Canon Jones' translation.)

² In the Preface to the first edition of his invaluable *History*, Professor Lloyd writes: "The reader may notice, however, that nowhere is there any full and systematic discussion of the chronicles included in *Annales Cambriæ* and *Brut y Tywysogion*. I had originally intended to include a critical account of these authorities in the

statement, therefore, resolves itself into this: (1) The earliest MS. of the *Brut y Tywysogion* "proper" is apparently Peniarth 18, dated c. 1330. The opening folios are missing, and therefore no argument can be adduced about this passage one way or the other, beyond the constant verbal agreement of this text with that of the *Red Book*. (2) The next manuscript would appear to be Mostyn 116, fourteenth century, "certainly earlier than the Red Book of Hergest, and the fact that identical variations in the orthography occur over and over again in certain passages, points to the one being a transcript of the other."¹ (3) The *Red Book*, from which we have already quoted, follows—c. 1380—and this does not contain any allusion to Offa's dyke, but in all but dating, spelling, and arrangement follows the *Annales Cambriæ*. In these three manuscripts, therefore, together with (4) Peniarth MS. 19, c. 1400—a direct transcript of the *Red Book*,—we have what might seem to be only one version represented. There are several much later manuscripts which transcribe the *Red Book*, and which do not need to be cited for our purpose.

Now, however, with Peniarth 20 (Hengwrt 51), we come to another version, so different in wording, and in work, but afterwards came to the conclusion that the task was too ambitious for the present occasion and must be separately undertaken. Let it suffice here to say that I have throughout treated *Brut y Tywysogion* and *Brut* (or *Brenhinedd*) *y Saeson* as two independent translations of a Latin original partially (but by no means fully) represented in MSS. B and C of *Annales Cambriæ*." One can cordially agree with Professor Lloyd in this last opinion, while pointing out that *all* the original material in the several chronicles involved could not have derived from *one* prior source, but probably from one main written source, and independent but perhaps inter-related minor local records—whether written in Latin or Welsh or both, would be hard to prove. There was reworking as well as translation.

¹ Dr. J. G. Evans in *Historical Manuscripts Com.*, i, p. 56.

roducing facts and paragraphs not in the *Red Book* group, that Phillimore stated that "any real collation at all" was "out of the question". Dr. Evans says of this manuscript (*Historical MSS. Com.* I, pp. 342-3) that: "This text is apparently based on that of Mostyn MS. 116, but the wording is changed more or less throughout. It contains certain paragraphs omitted in the *Red Book of Hergest* with which, however, the wording in more than one instance, agrees more nearly than with Mostyn MS. 116. It sometimes differs from both." Then follow examples. This is surprising. Recapitulating in other words—after emphasizing the striking, even minute similarities between the *Red Book* and Mostyn 116, we now discover that the *Red Book* and Mostyn 116 disagree, in places, so much that a third manuscript can follow first one, then the other, more or less closely. The verbal agreement of the *Red Book* and Mostyn 116 is, therefore, most certainly placed in doubt in select passages. And in the later manuscript, Peniarth 20, we must have either an eclectic selection from these two older manuscripts, with independent additions from unknown sources specifically relating to Welsh affairs, or these older manuscripts in their turn are compilations from differing versions still older, from all of which Peniarth 20 drew. In terms of versions, then, what is meant by the "older" *Bruts*? So much variation of *matter* as well as phraseology seems to preclude the theory that these several manuscripts all represent translations from a single, lost, Latin original.

Coming to Cotton Cleopatra B.V., which neither Palmer nor Professor Lloyd quotes, we find still a third series of variations (speaking of the whole manuscript), new additions of original material, and both verbal agreements and disagreements with the above.

Peniarth 20 (MS. C. of the *Monumenta*) does not men-

tion Offa's dyke. Both Cleopatra B.V. and the "Book of Basingwerk" do, and there is an additional sentence in the latter, perhaps added by Gutyn Owain himself, after the words "and that is called Offa's dyke from that time to this day"—e.g. : "And it stretches from one sea to the other, namely, from the south near Bristo, towards the north above Flint, between the monks' house of Dinas Basing and Mynydd y Glo".¹ This may be a modified and much abbreviated transcript direct from Higden, but coming in all probability from the pen of Gutyn Owain himself, or from some account, written on the spot at Basingwerk Abbey, which Gutyn Owain copied, it seems unnecessary to suppose that he introduced this isolated sentence from Higden into the text without copying further from Higden. It is this sentence that is said to be mistaken, confounding Wat's with Offa's dyke.

¹ p. 202, lines 33-34 of col. a. The whole passage reads as follows :

Lines 14 to 34, end :

DCCLXX.III y bu varw Cemoyd
 brenin y ffeichdieid DCCLXXV
 y bu varw Caint gwdbert abad
 DCCLXXVI y diffeithiodd gwyr
 deheubarth kymry yr ynys
 hyd ar offa brenin Mers Anno
 dñ DCCLXXXIII yr haf hwnnw
 y diffeithiodd y kymry gyvoeth
 offa Ac yna y peris offa wnev :
 thur klawdd yn dervyn ac yn
 gedernyd Rynghtho a chymry
 val y vai haws iddo wrthnebu i
 ruthr i elynion a hwnnw a
 elwir klawdd offa yr hynny hyd
 heddiw Ac ef y sydd yn estynnw
 or mor yr llall nid amgen or
 dehav yn enyl brvsto tv ar
 gogledd gorvweh y flint y
 Rwnng mynachloc ddinas
 basing a mynydd y glo

Ac yu ol xwderch i swlad
ychod sawl i val viner
vunthens inlyned yu heiddusd
yua bl vaxw Set oed hymny
sreedy dilw: 7 e l o vlym

Ac yu ol sawl y swlad
chod prer x inlyned
yua bu vaxw Set oed hymny
sreedy dilw: 7 e l o vlym

Ac yu ol prer i swlad
ychod kapor: ner ya
bo hump bloned yua by ef
vaxw Set oed hymny sreedy
dilw: 7 e l o vlym

Ac yu ol kapor y swl
adychod unyodan ap
kapor: ap prer ap sawl ap
xwderch 7 inlyned yua y
by vaxw Set oed hymny we
di dilw: 7 e l xny o vlym

Ac yu ol manosan y
doeth bel mawr i val
ynad yu vrenn ac ef a rela
dychod xny inlyned ac yu
bel hrenn i by bedwax o
vabion mid amscu llod a
chafallon a nymmar: oi
wraic breys a llevelys oi
saziadwraic i Kowsai yua

y bu vaxw bel set oed hymny
sreedy dilw: 7 e l xny

Ac wedy mawr bel y
doeth llod i val bynat
yu vrenn a hys mawr a adactw
ydlasod inroed llundam ai
iadelliaeth Ai hamsvldynb
o anerif dizeod llavur a phoe
veyd A phrethvliars mudi y
Fam vaxw or vlym yu a
orussai Ai salw oi henn chwa
kacr ludd ac wedy dyvod yu
rabacl sened iddi y selid lu
hendru exall ai salwai lwa
dys ac wedy hymny llundam
llevelys a saraic ef yu vaxw
oi hall wedyr kams doeth a
chymen oed Ac wedy klybed
o nallwnt vaxw hrenn krai
nok heb enbello ond yu vaxw
Ac dyvras yu llaw henn yu
ev kymar i Kowsai anthon
llymes ond a llevelys ac dyv
vlosion kramok i exdu y vaxw
ym yu vaxw iddi ac llyps
odactw sened A hymny a sa
vas ef yu llawen ac ynter a
lyvion y dyvras yu hrenn
tra yu vaxw Ac yu oes llud

In the *Monumenta*, these two passages on Offa's campaigns and his dyke are run together in a foot-note; hence the "Book of Basingwerk" has alone been quoted, and no reference at all occurs to the briefer version in the Cleopatra B.V. MS. Now this manuscript, as we shall see in due course, probably antedates the "Book of Basingwerk", and both depend upon an earlier version, apparently lost. The *Red Book* dates as a MS. c. 1380, and the Cottonian, representing an earlier version, is to be dated perhaps in the fourteenth century, almost certainly (if fifteenth century) but little after 1400. Hence, speaking of *manuscripts*, the "older Bruts" as a phrase is really without material bearing, and arises from the fixed idea, so easily derived from using an accessible printed text, that the latter is the *standard* text, and others are "inferior" to it. When two differing versions are found in manuscripts transcribed only twenty or thirty years apart, it is hardly wise to speak categorically of one group as "older" than the other, without clearly defining what this means, and what proof of antiquity is available. Phillimore had already made this distinction (p. 152), which has apparently gone unheeded. Furthermore, there is another fragmentary *Brut y Saesson* in Peniarth MS. 22=Hengwrt 318, translated by one David ap Meredith Glais in 1444, from a Latin original—which differs from the *Red Book* and breaks off in the year 1048. Nothing is known of this Latin prototype. The heading reads: "Llyma ual i dechreu ystoria brenhinedd y'saesson a ymchoelawdd y racddywededic david o Ladin yn gynraec oet crist Mil. cccc. xliii^o".¹ The extracts from this manuscript given

¹ p. 133, line 16; cf. *H. MS. Com.*, ii p. 349. "In this way beginneth the history of the kings of the Saxons, turned by the above mentioned David out of Latin into Welsh in the year of Christ MIL.CCCC.XLIIIJ.

by Dr. Evans in his Catalogue indicate still another version, at least the opening agrees with none of the manuscripts we have discussed. Dr. Evans describes two other brief chronicles, one the middle, the other the "last quarter" of the fifteenth century, which seem to be alike and give still another version (Peniarth MSS. 27, p. ii = Hengwrt 218; and 32 = Hengwrt 311 and 8, pp. 27-33 and 251 ff. respectively). Wynne's catalogue calls this last manuscript fourteenth century, but only the forepart, or the Laws of Howel Dda, seems to be so early. The *Brut y Saesson* of the *Red Book* itself differs from the "Book of Basingwerk" and Cleopatra B.V., and there are verbal differences between this and the last two Peniarth MSS. just cited.

The need for a thorough and critical analysis of *all* the Welsh chronicles should be clear from these illustrations, and this enumeration of manuscripts. The introduction of details, virtually unavailable or inexplicable except as recorded locally in Wales, thoroughly justifies the careful examination of such manuscripts as the "Book of Basingwerk" and Cotton Cleopatra B.V.

Up to this point we have dealt with the latter section, or *Brut y Saesson* only, of the "Book of Basingwerk", and the Cleopatra B.V., and have done so at such length largely because they have been uncritically "collated", and their historical value we feel incorrectly estimated. When it comes to the *Brut y Brenhined*, as given in the "Book of Basingwerk" MS., we shall perhaps find ourselves in a position to establish more rapidly the need for a thorough examination of the text. One thing has stood out in the above survey of this later section or *Brut y Saesson*, namely, that there were a multiplicity of versions,—which bears out at least by inference the statement made in the Preface to Humphrey Lloyd's *Historie*

of *Cambria*, in 1584, that "These collections were copied by diuers, so that there are at this daie of the same in Wales a hundred copies at the least, whereof the most part were written two hundred yeares ago." Exactly the same is true of the earlier section, or *Brut y Brenhined*, and it forms one of the strongest arguments against the accepted belief that *all* the Welsh versions are "mere translations" of Geoffrey's *Historia Regum Britannicæ*. Without an exhaustive examination of *all* the manuscripts it is certain that no one can be in a position to pronounce final judgment on this question.

To return to descriptions of the "Book of Basingwerk"—now more especially concerned with the *Brut y Brenhined* section to which Professor Petrie refers—another note in the *Monumenta* reads as follows: "The 'Book of Basingwerk' is so styled on account of having been in the Library of Basingwerk Abbey. The early part of this manuscript contains an imperfect version of the Chronicle of the Kings, written about the middle of the fourteenth century, by the celebrated bard and herald Gutyn Owain. The Rev. Peter Roberts adopted this manuscript for the publication of the Chronicle of the Kings. This Chronicle occurs in libraries much more frequently than the Chronicle of the Princes" (n. 3, p. 95. cf. Hardy, *Descr. Cat.*, II, p. 142, note, attributing this to Aneurin Owen).

There are strange confusions in these sentences. We have already seen that Peter Roberts used "The Book of Basingwerk" for the *Dares Phrygius* only, to which no allusion is made above, and that the basis of his "Tysilio" translation was the printed version in the *Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* (originally from Jesus College MSS. XXVIII=LXI), with a variant of only thirteen pages translated from "The Book of Basingwerk", and placed

below the line. Peter Roberts, therefore, did not "adopt this manuscript for the publication of the Chronicle of the Kings"—though he read it, and refers to it in his notes. Furthermore, the "early part of this manuscript" does not contain an "imperfect version of the Chronicle of the Kings, written about the middle of the fourteenth century, by the celebrated bard and herald Gutyn Owain". Gutyn Owain lived and wrote (more correctly *copied*, as in this manuscript he can have added but little), in the last half of the fifteenth century, so he was not alive in the fourteenth. He appears to have found an *incomplete* (not imperfect) version of the *Brut y Brenhined*, which broke off with page 88, the last entry being: *Ac yu ol Rydeon y gwle dychaud Ryderch i uab ynteu vn vlvdyd yn ar bym thee. Ae y bu uarw. ij C. xxv*—"And then after Rydeon, Ryderch his son reigned sixteen years (one year and fifteen), and then it was he died. MM.C.XXV."—and this he completed, beginning on page 89, probably from another manuscript version. As may be seen from the reproduction of these two pages, the handwritings are absolutely distinct: the *y*'s are dotted throughout in the earlier handwriting, which is never done by Gutyn Owain in any of his manuscripts, nor by his pupil (cf. B. Mu. Addl. 14, 967); and the construction and stroking of the individual letters is characteristic in each case. Only a superficial examination of the manuscript could have confused them. The handwriting of this earlier portion gives many evidences of being fourteenth century, quite as old as the *Red Book*. The note in the *Monumenta* may have intended to state that this "early portion" was "written about the middle of the fourteenth century", and was *completed by*, not merely "by", Gutyn Owain,—which would seem to be correct.

The last page of this prior portion of the *Brut y*

Brenhined is faded, and much rubbed and stained, giving the appearance of having been the outside sheet at some period. At the bottom of the last column are three catchwords—*ac wedy ryd'*—with a little abbreviation mark to indicate the *erch* omitted—which appear to be in the same handwriting and ink. Since catchwords are not used on other pages of this forepart, one is less inclined to suppose an accidental tearing apart of the manuscript, as to surmise that the original copyist or compiler actually ran short of vellum, and wrote these words at the bottom of the page to remind him just where to start on some future occasion. The whole page is devoted to nine brief paragraphs, each beginning *Ac yn ol*, with large floriated initial A's, in alternate colours. The next page, by Gutyn Owain, begins *Ac yn ol Rydderch*, which differs from the catchwords *ac gwedij ryd'* (*erch*), and doubles the d in *Rydderch*. He doubles d's and l's throughout, which is not done in the earlier portion, and also uses a more modern spelling. There are other indications, too detailed to enumerate here, that Gutyn Owain completed this early fragment from a different copy. His portion in its turn varies from any of the other versions, and runs closest to that of the Cotton Cleopatra B.V., while not identical with it.

We have, then, in this second section of the "Book of Basingwerk" evidence for two *versions* of the *Brut y Brenhined*, one dating as a manuscript in the fourteenth century, and the other copied by Gutyn Owain from something earlier, in the third quarter of the fifteenth. Before analyzing briefly the contents, we shall give one more description of it, and then turn to the Cotton Cleopatra B.V.

Aneurin Owen left an unpublished *Introduction* to the *Brut y Tywysogion*, which after his death was published, together with his text of the *Gwentian Chronicle*, in the

Archæologia Cambrensis for 1861. When, in 1860, the Rev. J. Williams ab Ithel was engaged by the Master of Rolls to re-edit the *Brut y Tywysogion* (which he did by copying, mistakes and all, the text and notes already published in the *Monumenta*), he had access to this *Introduction* in manuscript, and transcribed most of it without acknowledgment. Phillimore, discussing this matter in detail, says (p. 151) in the article cited above: "The MS. *Introduction* had been previously lent by the Record Office to Mr. Ab Ithel to aid him in preparing his edition of the *Brut*, and this worthy scholar appropriated it nearly *in toto* in the published Preface of the Rolls Edition, of which he professed to be the sole editor, without a word of acknowledgment, but with many additions (mostly valueless), and trivial and meaningless changes, and at least one deliberate and most disingenuous suppression of an important fact". This severe statement is amply borne out by a comparison, in parallel columns, of Ab Ithel's *Preface* with the *Introduction* itself.

Bearing in mind that the *Brut y Tywysogion* (also the *Brut y Saesson*) was primarily under consideration, and not our *Brut y Brenhined*, the description from the *Preface* to the Rolls volume follows: "Manuscript E. . . was written by the celebrated bard and herald Guttyn Owain, and is styled in some catalogues, 'The Book of Basing', on account of having been in the library of Basingwerk Abbey. The prior part of this manuscript contains an imperfect version of the Chronicle of the Kings, written about the end of the fourteenth century; to supply the deficiency Guttyn Owain added the remainder from a dissimilar copy. It was this manuscript that the Rev. Peter Roberts adopted as the foundation for his publication of the Chronicle of the Kings, and he considers it to be altogether a transcript by Guttyn Owain. He remarks the

great change in the style at the part alluded to, but did not notice the variation in the handwriting and orthography, which distinction is sufficiently obvious. Guttyn Owain then adds the Chronicle of the Saxons, enlarging the genealogical notices, and carries it down to 1461. This differs in diction from manuscript D. [Cotton Cleopatra B.V.], but very little in matter; both are taken from a common source, adapted by each writer to the idiom and literary language of his province".¹

The echoes from the *Monumenta* are obvious in these sentences; but Ab Ithel has straightened out the confusion as to Gutyn Owain writing in the fourteenth century, and he has changed "middle" to "end of the fourteenth century" for the age of the original fragment. However, he copies the statement about Peter Roberts having "adopted" this manuscript "as the foundation for his publication",—which has been shown to be erroneous, and he credits Roberts with noting the "great change in the style at the part alluded to", which Roberts does not do at all. Ab Ithel has here confused the portion of thirteen manuscript pages which Roberts did "subjoin at length" in translation below the line, with the forty-seven pages in an earlier fourteenth century hand, not by Gutyn Owain. Roberts, neither in his preface nor in the notes, calls attention to the change of handwriting on page 89, and he considered the manuscript to be in its entirety by Gutyn Owain.

It is not to be wondered at that so many writers who did not examine the manuscripts, but depended upon the standard printed descriptions, were led astray by such inadequate and inaccurate information. W. F. Skene, in

¹ *Brut y Tywysogion*: or, *The Chronicle of the Princes*, ed. by the Rev. John Williams Ab Ithel, M.A., Rolls Series; Preface, pp. xlvi and xlvii.

his *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, states (his paragraph has so many confusions, is such a mixture of correct and incorrect statements, that to complete this survey we must quote it in full) :

"Now, though the text of the so-called *Brut Tyssilio* is distinctly stated both by the editor of the *Myvyrian Archæology* and by Roberts to be taken from the Red Book of Hergest, no such text is to be found there [correct]. The text of the *Brut y Brenhinoedd* in the Red Book is the same as the second version termed *Brut G. ap Arthur*. [We wonder if Skene ever read both? The very first paragraphs are utterly different, with additional characters, such as Creusa introduced in the second sentence of the latter, the colophons are different, the orthography differs, etc.] There are two later MSS. in the library of Jesus College, containing a text similar to [identical with] that of the *Brut Tyssilio*, and from which it was probably taken [correct]. They are exactly alike, but the one bears to have belonged to David Powell of Aberystwith in 1610, and is a MS. of that period [wrong: Jesus lxi is not later than 1525, and Hardy and Coxe both say fourteenth century—if so, certainly late] and the other to have been written by Hugh Jones, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, in 1695, and seems to be a copy of it [A note on f. 96 *vo.* by E. Lhwyd gives Jones' name and the date.] Another copy is said to be preserved in the library at Downing in North Wales, having this note attached to it:—'Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, translated this part of the Chronicle from Latin into Welsh, and Edward Kyffin copied it for John Trevor of Trevalin, A.D. 1577': [see note below¹] and a copy is likewise contained in the *Book of Basingwerk*, the property of Thomas T.

¹ cf. National Library of Wales MS. 23B. p. 151: "Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford turned this part of the chronicle out of Latin into Welsh, and Edward Kyffin copied it for John Trevor Trefalyn, Esq., when the year of Christ was 1577 and David John of Trefyrhyw was the third writer in the year of our Saviour 1761, June the 9th. And I John Pritchard of Llanrwst am the fourth writer in the year of our Saviour 1775. October the 9th day". There is no colophon. The version is said to run closely with the *Tyssilio*, but it is not always in exact verbal agreement with it. This is "Mr. Egerton Phillimore's Quarto MS" referred to on pages xviii and xx of the *Text of the Bruts from the Red Book of Hergest*. cf. *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, vol. i, p. 72. of the National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, 1921.

Griffith, Esq., Wrexham, which appears to be in the handwriting of Guttyu Owain [only *after* page 88], and to have been written [copied, not composed] in 1461. This is the oldest known transcript of this version of the *Brut*. [There are two versions in this one copy. Neither is *identical* with the *Tysilio*, though the latter part is close to it.]¹

Quite naturally it has been inferred from reading the above accounts that : (1) The *Book of Basingwerk* was the "best" (i.e., oldest) manuscript ; (2) it was translated by Peter Roberts in 1811 ; (3) it was printed in Welsh in the *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales*. But unfortunately none of these things is, strictly speaking, the case.

SUMMARY.

To sum up the substance of this section :

1.—Many of the early and even contemporary descriptions of the "Book of Basingwerk" have failed to notice that the forepart was in an earlier handwriting, not that of Gutyn Owain, and therefore that the age of the *version* represented by the forepart has been miscalculated.

2.—Peter Roberts did not use the "Book of Basingwerk" as the basis for his translation of the *Brut Tysilio*. He used, rather, the printed text in the *Myvyrian* of that title. He did, however, add a few pages in translation, and referred to this manuscript in his notes.

3.—The text of the *Brut y Tywysogion*, edited by Aneurin Owen in the *Monumenta*, is confusing and inadequate, especially in regard to the use of our two manuscripts. Owen's statement that the *Brut y Saesson* is a corrupt version of "the usual Welch text" mixed with the Winchester Annals was found to be too general in nature. Facts and items of historic importance appear in this *Brut* for the first time, whether considered in relation

¹ *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 24-5.

to other Welsh chronicles, or in relation to any other known chronicle. Confirmation of some of these points may be found in the Irish Annalists.

4.—Statements about the "older" *Bruts* are hardly safe, in view of the present lack of knowledge as to when the various versions were compiled, and also in view of the slight difference in the ages of respective manuscripts representing these different versions.

5.—Professor Petrie, in the light of the foregoing, appears to be eminently justified in his suggestion that the Welsh chronicles all need careful critical examination, and that many phases of early British history have been "neglected".

CORRIGENDA.

Page 56, f.n. l. 10, *for* Fordum *read* Fordun.

Page 69, l. 11, *insert* (=parenthesis *before* pp.

Page 74, f.n. l. 3, should be *ser̃t*, the nearest equivalent; also the ² abbreviation should be on the line, not above it, =contemporan.

Page 75, l. 10, ditto ² (on line).

Page 84, first line of Latin, omit comma in p'ditor and close up.

Page 96, l. 26. *for* M.S. *read* MS.

Page 106, f.n., l. 6. *for* Caint *read* Saint.

Page 110, l. 15, ij—line to indicate M and C lower case.

[Part iii dealing further with MS. Cotton Cleopatra, B.V. will appear in the next volume of "Y Cymmrodor."]

The Scandinavian Settlement in Ystrad Tywi.

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of Liverpool.*

IT is no doubt the fewness of known records that has caused the Scandinavian influence on Welsh history to remain so long uninvestigated. From *Annales Cambriæ* little can be gained, but a list of piratical attacks and fights, and *Historia Brittonum*, which was long believed by scholars to have been compiled in a time of Viking activity, does not mention the invaders at all. Nevertheless there are indications elsewhere, in the *Mabinogion* for instance, and in some triads in the Red Book of Hergest, that the Vikings were more powerful and numerous in Wales than has hitherto been supposed. It has also to be remembered that Wales, situated between Ireland and England, and on the way to the Continent, could not easily have escaped the attentions of the men who founded dynasties in Dublin, Northumbria and Normandy, even though in itself it was not as rich as England, Ireland and France.¹ It possessed at least two harbours, Porth

¹ Wales was known to the Northmen as Bretland (Brittany being *Syðra Bretland*, see *Zoëga's Dictionary*), its people as Bretar and its language as Brezkr. One third of it, they computed, consisted of Anglesey (*Orkneyingers' Saga*, trans. Dasent, Rolls Series, vol. iii, p. 71), an island perhaps important to them on account of its comparative richness in corn. It was also raided for timber (*a gwedy torri llawer o wydd defnydd* (*Brut T.* sub anno 1100), when that may have been scarce in the Isle of Man. For some notices of Scandinavian traces in Anglesey see *Notes on Non-dynastic Anglesey Clan-founders* (*Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Soc. and Field Club*, 1923, pp. 47-8, and 1924, pp. 18-21).

Dinllaen in the North and Milford Haven in the South, offering considerable advantages to invaders from the West, and the latter was perhaps the best harbour in Britain for the purpose of piracy carried on at the expense of traffic in the St. George's and English Channels. Sooner or later settlements on the coasts of Wales would become inevitable and interferences in Welsh politics frequent. In the eleventh century, in the cases of Rhys ap Tewdwr and Gruffydd ap Cynan for example, the significance of the Viking power is not difficult to appreciate, but the history of Scandinavian settlements in Wales and of earlier political interferences still remains to be explored.

For that purpose the evidence of language is of the first importance, and archæological evidence also, for though the discovery of a buried warship is perhaps fated to remain a dream, the recognition of Viking forts in Wales, and of stone crosses, will do much to illumine the darkness of pre-Norman Welsh history. No less essential is the contribution of the genealogist. The value of records of succession to land for the study of early and mediæval Welsh history has been demonstrated by A. N. Palmer, Edward Owen, Seeböhm, Vinogradoff, and notably by the late Owen Rhoscomyl, but, since the scientific study of genealogical sources is still only in its infancy in Wales, there is need to say something of the character of the genealogical evidence which it is the main purpose of this essay to interpret.

No case is known of a pedigree, starting with a Dane or Norseman located in Wales, which is consistently Scandinavian in nomenclature for many generations, and which can be verified at each step. Names of Scandinavian origin, however, occur in many pedigrees and there occur also Welsh names which look suspiciously like

translations from Scandinavian:¹ there are, moreover, indications that both kinds were passed on hereditarily. All this points to intermarriage between Scandinavian incomers and the native clans, and to absorption of the Northmen, as Irish, English and Norman incomers also have been absorbed, in the composite Welsh population. Intermarriage and absorption can be proved, but beyond that lies another more difficult problem, namely the racial constitution of the invaders before they came ashore and settled down. It is highly improbable that the Viking invaders of Wales were Icelanders, Danes, Norsemen or Swedes of pure descent. The full tide of Viking activity took a long time, possibly centuries, to rise, and on the way to Wales the Scandinavians had intermarried in the Orkneys and Shetlands, in Pictland and in Ireland.² It is noteworthy that Ari's *Landnámabók* shows many Irish names: we may well expect that when the Vikings were in force in Wales their ranks contained men of mixed blood and with non-Scandinavian names. The crew of any warship in Welsh waters in the tenth century was no more likely to be of one race than the crew of a pirate ship in the West Indies in the eighteenth century: there is a possibility that there were Welsh Vikings in the tenth century and more than one Sir Henry Morgan. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Viking pedigrees that run back to a clan-founder, Welsh by name, and long regarded as Welsh as Llewelyn Fawr or Dewi Sant.

Our material for pursuing these inquiries is the large mass of Welsh genealogical compilations, for the most

¹ Gaelic translations of Norse names also are known: see Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain*, p. 169; Henderson, *Norse Influence on Celtic Scotland*, p. 58.

² Intermarriage between Norse and Strathclyde British also is evidenced by the name Galbraith, on which see Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

part in MSS. of the sixteenth and later centuries.¹ By that time there had been plenty of time for Arthurian and other fables to become mixed with the genealogies and for dynastic faking. There was also in the Tudor period, and possibly as early as the Glyndwr period, a making of pedigrees for arrivistes who could pay for them.² Nevertheless, it is the conclusion of every student who has studied these sources that after the fabulous and forged elements are discounted the residuum is large and of astonishing accuracy, being confirmed repeatedly and unexpectedly from records. With the older and simpler

¹ The compilations used for this essay, other than "Heraldic Visitations of Wales and Part of the Marches between the years 1583 and 1613" . . . by Lewys Dwnn (edited for the Welsh MSS. Society by Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick, and hereinafter referred to as LD i and LD ii according to the volume) are transcripts made by Messrs. H. B. Hughes (1), Alban Morris (2-7), and T. Rees (8) for the late Owen Rhoscomyl of the following:—

- 1.—Peniarth MS. 134 entitled *Llyvyr Mawr Griffith Hiraethoc* and mostly in his hand (1550-62).
- 2.—Mostyn MS. 134, early seventeenth century.
- 3.—Cardiff MS. 59 (Tonn 19), circa 1611, mostly by Thos. Jones of Tregaron.
- 4.—Cardiff MS. 10, (Ph. 94) mostly in the hand of Dafydd Benwyn, 1550-1600.
- 5.—Cardiff MS. Ph. 13719, in the hand of Lewis Dwnn.
- 6.—*Llyvyr John Brooke o Fowddwy*, written by him in 1590-1, and compiled from various sources, especially G. Hiraethog; now in the National Library of Wales.
- 7.—Cardiff MS. 46 (Ph. 13856) written in 1688.
- 8.—Harleian MS. 1975, seventeenth century.

² This is to be gathered from a cywydd by Sion Tudur: "We bards make of base peasants men of rank; we draw pedigrees with too great splendour . . . every Tom, Dick, and Harry . . . if he gain an office, he straight becomes a gentleman . . . Many a fault has the bard's hand committed, stealing descents by the hundred, and arms of gentlemen to deck corruption." Lewis Dwnn's experience seems to have been otherwise, for he complains of the meanness and inhospitality of those whose pedigrees he made journeys to collect. See LD i, 9.

forms of genealogy there is nothing remarkable in this, for these consist of lists of names. A son of B son of C son of D,¹ and a man's direct ancestry for a thousand years would usually contain no more than thirty names. The memorising of such lists was the work of a special class of men whom practice had made perfect, and such large compilations as *Llyfr Mawr Gr. Hiraethog* are fundamentally no more than a written record of very ordinary feats of memory of many men. With the spread of heraldry a desire for illustrious 'matches' and quarterings led to manipulation and misinterpretation of stems originally accurate and it is wise therefore to base nothing of importance on pedigrees where collateral lines of descent or marriages are introduced² with the idea of glorifying one man's ancestry, unless every marriage is verified. The dubious character of many such pedigrees, however, does not affect the other kinds,³ which were

¹ Such stems are often grouped, thus:—

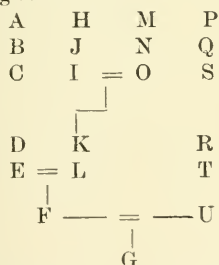
Tylwyth (Clan) H.

A ap B ap C ap D ap H.

B ap C ap A ap D as before ap H.

C ap A ap B ap D as before ap H.

² This might be called the Candelabrum model: it is on the following formula:—



³ No opinion is here expressed concerning the maternal pedigree, in the following form:—

A ap B ap C ap D ap H.

Mam A; J ferch K.

Mam J; L ferch M.

much easier to remember and which, in tribal times, it was practically impossible to fabricate. Such sources will prove of the utmost importance in tracing the extent of Viking settlements in Wales.

THE CYNFERCHIN.

The particular stem with which we are here concerned is that of the descendants of Urien ap Cynfarch, the clan called, in the *Mabinogion*, the *Cynferchin*. The pedigree from Urien backwards is extant in Harleian MS., 3859, written in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, though the pedigrees may have been originally compiled in the tenth century, and in Hengwrt MS. 536, circa 1300, in the section called *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*. From Urien downwards the pedigree is extant in one form or another in most Welsh genealogical collections. Our purpose, setting aside for the time being all other evidence, is to discover the date of Urien ap Cynfarch from evidence ultimately based on the memory of generations of men claiming to be his descendants.

THE CLAN OF ELIDIR.

It is noteworthy that the South Wales families who in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries claimed direct descent from Urien ap Cynfarch are found closely grouped together along the banks of the river Tywi, from Abermarlais to Kidwelly, as though they had been a riparian tribe on an ancient border of Dyfed. In the fifteenth century the most considerable of these families was that of Sir Rhys ap Thomas of Newtown. That is fortunate, for there is thus no danger that we are dealing with a pedigree made to order for a Tudor arriviste; we have to do with a clan whose doings were known and celebrated, and whose origins can to some extent be

checked by records with the compilation of which that family is not known to have had anything to do.

Sir Rhys ap Thomas was descended from an Elidir Ddu¹, the stem for nine generations being as follows:—

- 1.—Goronwy
- 2.—Rhys
- 3.—Elidir
- 4.—Elidir Ddu
- 5.—Phylip
- 6.—Nicholas
- 7.—Gruffydd (ob. 1461)
- 8.—Thomas
- 9.—Sir Rhys (1451-1527)

Allowing three generations to a century and counting back from Sir Rhys, Elidir Ddu should have been living, though perhaps old, about 1360, and his father, Elidir ap Rhys, about 1330. Without seeking for the moment to confirm these dates we may add two generations to the stem and, from Mostyn MS. 134, folio 74, add laterally. We get the following table:—

1.—	Llywarch	
	<hr/>	
2.—Einion	Gwgan	Cadwgan
3.—Goronwy	Meurig	
4.—Rhys	Gwilym	
5.—Elidir	Ieuan	
6.—Elidir Ddu		
7.—Phylip		
8.—Nicholas		
9.—Gruffydd		
10.—Thomas		
11.—Sir Rhys		

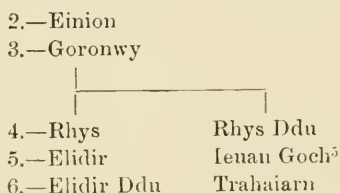
¹ Either this man or his father is the ancestor to whom a reference occurs in a cywydd, attributed to Dafydd Llwyd, to Thomas ap Gruffydd:—

Ni ellir Elidir lwyn | Diwreiddio'r deri addwyn
 [There can be no uprooting of the gentle oaks of Elidir's grove].

If Elidir ap Rhys was living, as we have calculated, about 1330, and if he was a man of any importance in the neighbourhood of Dinefwr, there would probably, though not necessarily, be some notice of him in the Survey of the lands held by the Bishop of St. David's in that district in 1326. No trace of him is to be found in Llandeilo Fawr but he does occur among the jurors in the adjacent Llandeilo Patria¹, being named last.

His contemporary, Ieuan ap Gwilym (line 5), was a juror in Llangathen². Gwilym ap Meurig (line 4) held a cottage in the same place² and was a juror in Llanddarog.³ This place was probably the spot from which the clan spread to Llandeilo; at any rate there were here three gwelyau only, those of Einion (Eyno), Cadwgan and Gwgan (Gogaun) ap Llywarch (Lowarth)³, the three who occur on the second line of the pedigree. Since they gave their names to gwelyau they lived three, or at most four, generations before 1326. The record of them is a final and convincing proof of the stem with which we are dealing.

One version of the pedigree⁴, confused but giving details not found elsewhere, states that contemporary with Elidir ap Rhys was a Ieuan Goch:—



¹ Black Book of St. David's. [*Cymmrodorion Record Series*] p. 268.

² *Ibid.*, p. 260.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁴ LD. ii., 60.

⁵ There was a Ieuan Goch holding a burgage in Llandeilo Fawr in 1326. Black Book of St. David's, p. 266.

It is not impossible that Goronwy ap Einion had two sons of the same name; like cases are known, and the second Rhys may have been a son by another wife. Of his grandson, Trahaiarn, the pedigree goes on to say:—

Ir hwnn Trehaern a biodd ir holl tiroedd yn Ysgennyn. Ar tir hwnnw a ddigoedd tilwyth Lidir Ddu o blegid lladdiad Nikolas ap Phē tad Gr^h Nikolas. (Which Trahaiarn owned all the lands in Iscennen. And that land was taken by the clan of Elidir Ddu on account of the slaying of Nicholas ap Philip, father of Gruffydd ap Nicholas).¹

This passage, if it be true, indicates that in the early fifteenth century the clan was divided against itself and that the branch from which Sir Rhys was descended profited at the expense of another. The history of the kindred is not however our concern. All that we need we have, namely confirmation of the stem from Sir Rhys to Llywarch. This stem of eleven generations covers about three centuries and goes back to the age of Rhys Ieuanc and Rhys Gryg, to whom, had the clan of Elidir desired a famous rather than an accurate ancestry, it would have been possible and perhaps easy, in the sixteenth century, to carry the pedigree back. Instead of that the line is taken to a Llywarch of whom nothing is known but of whose existence and of whose relation to the kindred there can be no doubt upon the available evidence.

From this Llywarch backwards the stem leads into a period where no evidence of surveys is to be had to check it and where such evidence as we have, names only a few of the men who were active in those times. The lack of confirmatory evidence is to be regretted, but a proved accuracy for three hundred years is sufficient to justify some confidence in the only evidence we have—the remaining portion of this pedigree.

¹ LD. ii., 60.

THE URIEN AP CYNFARCH STEM (pre- 1230).

The Llywarch at whom we have arrived was living about 1230. We have now to consider the stem from him to Urien. Numerous versions of this exist, of which fourteen are tabulated below. The first six are to be found in the *Heraldic Visitations* and the other eight are from various MSS. the text of which will be given in Appendix A.

A. LD. i. 32.	B, C, D. LD. i. 26, 34, 94.	E. LD. ii. 60.	F. LD. ii. 56.	G. Harley 1975 fo. 106.	H. LLJ.B. fo. 60.	I. B.M. Addit. MS. 28033 fo. 349.	J. Pen. 134. fo. 222.	K. Ph. 94. fo. 83.	L. Most. 134. fo. 74.	M. Ph. 13719. fo. 200.	N. Ph. 94. fo. 119.
Urien	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Pasgen	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	Masken	do.	do.	do.
Mor	do.	do.	do.	Ivor	Ynyr	Meredith	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Rhirid	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
Llywareh	do.	nil	nil	do.	do.	do.	do.	do.	nil	do.	do.
Rhun	nil	nil	do.	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	do.	do.	do.
Seisyllt	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	do.
Gŵrward	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	Emion	do.
Cynhaethwy	nil	nil	do, hir	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	do, hir	do, hir	do.
Llywareh	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	nil	do.	nil	do.

NOTES.

1.—Do. means agreement with the first column.

2.—Version H is not exactly as set down, but an Owen is introduced between Pasgen and Urien. This, an obvious mistake, has been here disregarded.

3.—The Ivor and Ynyr of G., and the Ynyr and Mor of H., originated probably in misreadings, Ynyr being read for Ivor, and Ivor for Mor.

4.—Meredith of I was probably got from an expansion of M'dd, misread for Mor.

The tabulated versions can be classified according to the number of generations they contain, thus:—

- I.—4 generations. 1. (E).
- II.—5 generations. 7. (B, C, D, H, I, J, K).
- III.—6 generations. 2. (F, G).
- IV.—7 generations. 1. (L.)
- V.—8 generations. 1. (M.)
- VI.—10 generations. 2. (A, N.)

The total difference between I and VI, namely six generations, can be explained as the result of a mistake frequently occurring in pedigrees and probably due to oral transmission. It will be noticed that in the long stems A, N, Llywarch occurs twice, and in ten of the remaining twelve stems occurs once. What has happened is that these ten are derived from copies in which Llywarch ap Cynhaethwy¹ was run back to his namesake, and made ap Rhirid. Versions E and F not only dropped

¹Cynhaethwy, a rare name in Welsh, occurs elsewhere. One instance is in Cardiff Ms. 10, fo. 112, where a list of witnesses to deeds is given, though the scribe does not say where he had seen the documents nor what their nature was. 'Tyst ar weithred oedd Jeuan ap hol ap gr ap (read a) Ieuan ap Madoc ap Kynhaethwy a Ieuan ap rrys ap William a rrys ap Wiliam ap Iorwerth yn amser edwarty drydydd.' This Cynhaethwy would therefore be living in the second half of the thirteenth century. Another appears in a patched pedigree of the Herberts. In LD ii. 13 he is made a grandson of the first Herbert: in Ms. Ph. 13179 fo. 264 he is made a son and the name is spelt Kynhaeth: 'Kynhaeth a orffwysodd yngwlad vorganwg ag o honaw i mae llawer o bendefigion yn dyfod allan.' The same man in another version is called Kynnerthwy (B.M. Additl. Ms. 28034 fo. 529): this version is nearer the truth as to the Herbert ancestry and is partly confirmed by Glamorgan deeds (Clark, *Cartae*, iii., 83: a table showing another of the same name can be constructed from pp 87, 92, 145, 284) in which however the name is spelt Kenaithur. Another Cynhaethwy is located near Llancarfan by a passage in the Vita S. Cadoci (Rees, *Cambro-Brit.* SS. p. 66) Knaytho, possibly the pet-name form (cf. Grono, Goronwy) occurred in Llawhaden in the fourteenth century (Black Book of St. David's, pp. 158, 162).

the intervening block of names but the termini as well. Versions F,L and M corroborate two of the missing generations, namely Rhun and Cynhaethwy: of a third, Seisyllt, there is some slight evidence in the place name *Mainor Y Meybon Scesyl* recorded in an extent of Iscennen¹ (20 Edward III.), but we have no means of determining how old the name was nor to whom it referred.

It is, however, clear that the shorter versions of this stem must be regarded as syncopated, and the date of Urien ap Cynfarch must be determined according to the longer versions. Urien ap Cynfarch lived, then, nine generations, or about three centuries, before the Llywarch of 1230, i.e., between 900-950.

This date for Urien ap Cynfarch does not depend on these pedigrees alone. The fifteenth century Jesus College MS. 20 pedigrees² can be cited to the same effect. It is there said of Ellelw, mother of Seisyll ap Llewelyn of Builth:—

That Ellelw was the daughter of Elidyr son of Llywarch son of Bledri son of Mor son of Llywarch son of Gwgon (son of) Keneu Menrud That Gwgon built Aber Gwili and there he and Llewelyn son of Seisyll. father of Gruffydd ap Llewelyn, were slain.³

He was Keneu Menrud son of Pasgen son of Urien reged son of Cynfarch.

From this statement the following table can be drawn:—

1. Cynfarch.
2. Urien Rheged.
3. Pasgen.
4. Keneu Menrud.
5. Gwgon (ob. circa 1020).

Urien ap Cynfarch, who lived three generations before Gwgon, should thus have been living circa 920.

¹ See Seebohm, *Tribal System*, Appendix F., p. 111.

² Published in *I'r Cymmrodor*, vol. viii, p. 88, 1887.

³ For Llewelyn's fight at Aber Gwili see *Brut y Tywysogion* s.a. 1020.

GWYR Y GOGLEDD (Men of the North).

As already said, the ancestry of Urien ap Cynfarch is to be found in the tract Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd in Hengwrt Ms. 536. The genealogies there given fall into three groups: (a) the descendants of Coel (b) the descendants of Dyfnwal Hen and (c) a short stem of three generations with no apparent connection either with (a) or (b). There is not in the Hengwrt tract Ms. 536 any evidence, and there is no good evidence elsewhere, of a family connection between (a) and (b).

The first group, with which alone we are here concerned, may be thus set out.

1. Coel.

2. Cenen.

3. Gorwst Ledlwm

4. Meirch[i]awn

3. Mar.

4. Arthwys.

5. Kynnarch. Elidir Lydanwyn

6. VRYEN. Llywarch Hen. 6. Kynnwyd Kynwydyon

7. Clyduo Eidin Cynan Genhir Cynuelyn Drwsgyl Catrawt Calchmynydd

5. Pabo Post Prydain.

5. Keydyaw.

6. Dnnawt Ce... Sawyl Penuchel. 6. Gwendoleu Nud Cof

3. Arthwys.

4. Eliffer Gosgorduawr.

5. Gwrgi.

Peredur.

It is usual to date the generations in the table given above by identifying the Gwrgi and Peredur of line 5 with two men of the same name whose death in 580 is recorded in *Annales Cambriæ*,¹ and by equating the Dunawd of line 6 either with Dunawd rex, who, according to Ann. Camb., died in 595, or with Dinoot, who, according to Bede, was abbot of Bangor Iscoed in 602. The Urien of line 6 is identified with Urbgen of *Historia Brittonum*, supposed to have been a sixth century leader of the Britons. By these means the table is taken to be that of a sixth century clan in Cumbria or Strathclyde which afterwards came south to Wales.

The evidence is of the slightest. For the moment we will stand on the bedrock fact that according to the genealogies hitherto considered Urien ap Cynfarch lived in the first half of the tenth century. It follows, if Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd is trustworthy, that his ancestor, Coel, lived about the mid-eight century. If Coel's kingdom was to the north of Wales the question remains as to when his descendants reached the country occupied later by the clans descended from Urien ap Cynfarch. No precise date can be given, for such a migration might have gone on during several generations, but that it did not take place in the sixth century is evident from the names borne by some of the Men of the North, two at least of which are probably of Scandinavian origin,² namely Mar (O.N.

¹ Guurei et Peretur moritur. In view of the commonness of both names in Welsh the absence of the father's name in this entry is a bar to certain identification. Even if the identification were certain, the possibility of a misplaced entry and wrong date must be borne in mind. If this entry is in its wrong place in Ann. Camb. it is by no means the only one of the kind.

² *Urien* itself is not certainly Celtic: the *Historia Brittonum* form, *Urbgen* (Chartres Text, *Urbaoen*, for *Urbagen*) should yield Welsh *Irfien*, not *Urien*, and may be an attempt at etymology on Isidorian lines. O.N. *Iörgen* (later written *Yrian*. *Frien*) may be

Már)¹ and Eliffer (O.N. Eilífr). The wars of the Cynferchin were therefore waged not in the sixth century but in the Viking period; their migration may have commenced in the time of Mar ap Ceneu, i.e., not before the late eighth or early ninth century.

THE LOCATION OF URIEN AP CYNFARCH.

Having now considered the genealogical evidence as to the date of Urien, we must still consider the evidence of Welsh mediæval literature as to his location. The sources of most importance are some poems in the Book of Taliessin,² and the Red Book of Hergest,³ and the tale of Breuddwyd Rhonabwy.⁴

The Urien with which these sources deal is called Urien Rheged; the Urien of Welsh pedigrees is also called Urien Rheged. The first thing needful, therefore, is to

suggested though no written example earlier than 1326 is cited by Lind (Norsk-Isländska Dopnamn, 1121). The following are instances of the name in South Wales: Erdudvil filia *Uryen*, 1292 (Cal. Public Records relating to Pemb., 11, 13); Llywelyn ap *Fryen*, Llanddewi-brevi. 1326; David ap *Fryen*, Llangadog, 1326; Margeria *Ŷryan*, near Brecknock, 1326 (Black Book of St. David's, pp. 200, 276, 306).

¹ *Mar* (which is not known to be Celtic) of Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd may be compared with *Mar* in Vita S. Cadoci (Rees, Cambro-Brit. SS. p. 22. It is perhaps the same as W. *Mor*: e.g. *Mor* ap Pasgen in a later generation of this same kindred. For *Mar* may be suggested also O.N. *marr*, 'horse,' more particularly since *Cynfarch*, *Llywarch* (O.W. *Loumarc*) and *Meirchion* (which indeed may be Latin *Marcianus* but may also be a tribe-name: cf. Cynwydion), all occurring in this kindred, are compounds of W. *march*, 'horse.' Cf. also Coel's epithet, *Godebog* (**Vot-epācos*).

² Ms. of the early fourteenth century. No opinion is here expressed as to when or by whom the poetry was composed, except that the Urien poems cannot be earlier than the tenth century. For text see Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales* Vol. ii.

³ Ms. of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. For text of poems see Skene, ii, pp. 287, 291.

⁴ For text see *Mabinogion* (Rhys and Evans, Oxford, 1887).

decide where Rheged, or at any rate this Rheged, was. The B. Tal. poems are the flimsiest kind of evidence; we may note however, without basing anything upon the observation, that so far as they go they suggest that Rheged was not in the district vaguely called the North (*Y Gogledd*). The poet says he is seeking Urien (*Vryen a gyrchaf*),¹ but he has no intention of going North (*Ny chyrchafi gogledd*).² Moreover Urien is called *Vryen yr echwyd* and *vd yr echwyd*, i.e., *roi du midi, du sud*.³

As more definite evidence may be cited, a passage from a poem attributed to Hywel ap Owen Gwynedd⁴ (ob. 1170, Brut T.), which reads thus:—

Mor bell o geri gaer lliwelyt
Esgynneis ar velyn o vaelenynt
Hyd ynhir reged rwg nos ymy a dyt.

Caer Lliwelydd in the first verse is generally taken as a place name but Lliwelydd occurs as a female personal name in South Wales.⁵ This is the more important when it is considered other names of women occur in the same poem, Gwenlliant, Gweirfyl, Gwladus, Llencu, Nest, Perweur, Generys, Hunydd and Hawis, all of them loves of the bard. If Lliwelydd was one of them, then, wherever it may have been, her *caer* would be far enough from Ceri to make the poet impatient, and there is no need to suppose, as is usually done, that it was Carlisle.

Another reason against taking Caer Lliwelydd to be in the North of England is that the poet's theme is the praise of Wales, its fine country and fair women. He has no motive for travelling outside it: *Cambria irredenta*, even

¹ Skene II, 195.

² Skene II, 184, 185.

³ Loth *Rev. Celt.* xxi. pp. 335—7, who quotes Bret. *echoaz* 'noon, resting of cattle.'

⁴ *Myv. Arch.* p. 198b, ll. 10-12.

⁵ E.g. Lliwelydd ferch Gwilym (LD I. 95): Lewelit uxor Aythan. 1247 (Clarke, Carke, III. 427-9).

had he thought or known of it, does not touch his subject. When, therefore, he says that he mounted a yellow horse of Maelienydd and rode to Rheged, he meant that he rode to somewhere in Wales, and it is to be suspected that the reason of his riding was a maiden.

The expression "rhwng nos imi a dydd" is ambiguous, and may mean either "between dusk and dawn" or "between dusk and nightfall on the following day" or "between day riding and night riding." In order to cover the widest possible interpretation let it be assumed that the chieftain rode for forty-eight hours. Now from Maelienydd to the neighbourhood of Carlisle, by whatever route he went, is not much less than two hundred miles and with plenty of bog, steep gradients and forest in the way, all to be taken, under the conditions we are assuming, at a minimum rate of a hundred miles a day. On any horse, particularly on the mediaeval horse, inferior in strength and speed to the horse of our day, the feat is impossible.¹ Even supposing some equine miracle to have covered the first hundred miles in twenty four hours, it is utterly incredible that the feat could be repeated. The author of this poem lived in an age and among men too familiar with the subject to pass nonsense about horseflesh as poetry, and there is no reason to suppose that he set out to make himself ridiculous. Rheged therefore was much nearer to him than Carlisle.

Its location in South Wales appears probable from the inscribed Carew Cross, erected either by or upon one MARGITEVT RECETT,² Maredudd Rheged. Further, the location is more definitely established by the existence in

¹ In the late seventeenth century a coach journey from Oxford to London took two days. From Chester, Exeter or York to London took between four and six days.

² Westwood, 120; Hubner, 96; Owen's Pembrokeshire (*Cymrodorion Record Series*) Part iii, p. 284, n.

Llandeilo, Carmarthenshire, of an old road, whose course could be traced as late as 1885, called *Hewl Rheged*.¹

To somewhere on this road it was possible for Hywel ab Owen Gwynedd to ride on his yellow horse: it was near this road that the descendants of Urien ap Cynfarch lived for centuries. Urien ap Cynfarch was Urien Rheged and his realm was in *Ystrad Tywi*.

It is fortunate that the situation of Rheged in the mediaeval poems dealing with Urien can be determined, for very little information is to be gleaned from those sources. Their weakness as evidence for the historian is a double one: in the first place most of the persons and places named in them cannot be satisfactorily identified² and, secondly, they contain an element of vaticination.³

Nevertheless there is some indication that the scene of this kindred's activity was in South Wales. One poem describing a cattle raid specifically mentions South Wales three times.⁴ Another places Urien in Powys in the

¹ Owen's Pembrokeshire, loc. cit.: Report Commission on Auct. Monuments, Carmarthenshire, p. 85.

² For instance it would be an advantage if *Argoed Llwyfain* could be located, but lime trees and forest edges (the normal meaning of *Argoed*,—for a couplet in which it means a fort, see Lewis Morris, *Celt. Rem.* p. 19) were common in Britain. *Calchfynydd* (Skene ii, 182) too might describe many widely distant mountains. *Tir Gwyddno* in the same poem might refer to Port Wyddno *yn y Gogledd* (*Myv. Arch.* 389 a), to *Caer Wyddno* in Aber Ystwyth Bay (*Celt. Rem.* p. 234), to *Gored Wyddno* at the Conway estuary or to *Blaen Gwyddno* between Narberth and Carmarthen (*Fenton Hist. Tour.* ed. 1903 p. 26). Some of the men named in these poems can be identified, at least tentatively, with some named in *Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd*, but others can not, e.g. *Unhwch* (Skene ii, 287: there is a *Caer Unhwch* near Dolgellau) *Elgno* and *Llofan Llaw Ddifro*. Urien's adversaries, *Fflamddwyn* and *Ulph*, cannot be identified, the first being only an epithet and the second a name frequently occurring and widely distributed.

³ E.g. Skene, ii, 291-3.

⁴ *Deheubarth, Dyfed, Leutired deheu*, Skene ii, 162-3.

campaigning season,¹ and a third shows him operating against Powys and Aeron,² both accessible from Rheged but not easily from Cumbria.

BRAIN OWEN AP URIEN (Owen ap Urien's Ravens).

The evidence, such as it is, of the poems can be supplemented from the references in Breuddwyd Rhonabwy to Urien's son Owen. That tale, like the Mabinogion generally, is historical evidence only in a special sense, that is to say as an amalgam of fact and fancy from which the fact can sometimes be segregated, though never completely, by its occurrence in independent sources. There is no doubt that the original story-tellers had sources, lost to us, which they wove into the tale. One example from Breuddwyd Rhonabwy is pertinent to our enquiry: Rhonabwy, looking along the Severn Valley, sees a white army approaching:—

"Iddog" said Rhonabwy "Whose are yonder white-gleaming troops?"

"They are the men of Norway, and March³ ap Meirchion is their leader."

Then he saw troops clad in sable

"Iddog" said Rhonabwy "Whose are yonder sable troops?"

"The men of Denmark, and Edern son of Nudd their leader."

The distinction here is clearly between the Finn-Gaill and Dubh Gaill, the fair and the dark foreigners, common in Irish annals, but not in extant Welsh annals, which refer to "cenhedloedd" or "gynt" (gentes) and to "cenhedloedd duon" (gentiles nigri) but not to "cenhedloedd gwynion".

¹ Skene ii, 193.

² Skene ii, 190: there were several Aerons but the Cardiganshire one is most probable here.

³ Possibly Mark Haroldson who devastated Penmon in 969 (Ann. Camb.).

It is clear from the *Mabinogi* that Owen ap Urien must be counted among the gentiles *nigri*, or Danes. He was playing chess with Arthur when a youth came to tell him that the Emperor's pages were injuring his ravens. To Owen's request that word should be sent to restrain the attackers Arthur gives no reply but 'Make thy move'.

A second and third messenger bring news of increasing disaster to the Ravens, but Arthur's reply to Owen's protest is always the same, 'Make thy move.' Then a messenger to Arthur tells of the Ravens recovering: a second brings tidings of battle turning against the Emperor's pages, but to Arthur's command to restrain the Ravens, Owen replies 'Make thy move,' and only when a third messenger has announced the victory of the Ravens does Owen agree to peace and to issue orders for his banner to be lowered.¹

This story² of the Owen ap Urien of romance gives the clue to the Owen ap Urien of history. As late as the sixteenth century in Pembrokeshire the pawns on a chess board were called "brain Owen ap Urien,"³ and it is clear that in *Breuddwyd Rhonabwy*, Owen's Ravens were men at arms. In *Iarlls y Ffynon* too, after his adventures, Owen returns to the three hundred swords

¹ Pasgen ap Urien, Owen's brother, is called in one pedigree (LD i, 23) *Kyff cenedl gwaed y brain*, 'the trunk of the family tree of the raven kindred.' Three ravens appear in the arms of his descendant, Sir Rhys ap Thomas, whose allies were called "*Salsbriod y brain*.' The ravens of Owen are referred to in poems to Sir Rhys and his father:—

- (a) Ni ellir Elidir lwyn / Diwreiddio'r deri addwyn
Bran o'r bedd a ddatcleddir / Fal Owen hen a'i flew'n hir
- (b) Taera fu draw twrf y drin / Y Brain ond gwyr y brenin . . .
Gwahardd dy frain, Owain wyd
Ofnes Arthur fab Urien / Owain a'i frain heb fawr wên.

² For a parallel in the *Fridthiof Saga* see collected works of William Morris, vol x, pp. 51-2.

³ Fenton, *Historical Tour*, edit. 1903, p. 289.

of the Cynferchiu and to his troop of Ravens. The reason why his followers were so called is not far to seek. Asser tells of the banner woven by the daughters of Ragnar Lodbrok with a raven on it that beat its wings when the Danes were destined to victory. This standard was captured, according to the Saxon Chronicle, in Devon in 878, and Asser says that the Danes who bore it had reached Devon from Dyfed. The Raven was thus known in South Wales in the ninth century. Owen ap Urien flew it probably because he was descended from a Viking and lived and fought like a Viking himself.

NEIGHBOURS OF THE CLAN OF ELIDIR.¹

In the neighbourhood of Llanddeusant and Llangadog, Carmarthenshire, there lived in the fourteenth century a number of families descended from Eidio Wyllt, of whose Scandinavian origin and arrival in Wales there is some evidence.

The date of Eidio Wyllt can be determined approximately from the following table²:—

¹ There is some slight evidence of possible intermarriage between Urien's kindred and another, settled in the fourteenth century in Monmouthshire, [for a notice of the family see Bradney, *History of Monmouthshire*, Vol. ii, Pt. ii, p. 236] in the Woolvesnewton pedigree [LD, I, 11-14: cf. LD, I, 104]. In this pedigree, which is too copious and confused and too little confirmed from other sources to be accepted in its present form, the name Urien, spelt also *Arian*, *Arien* and *Arion* occurs twelve times and is borne by eight different men. Another feature of the table is the number of names compounded of *Ulf*, e.g. *Rondulff*, *Edulff*, *Bardulff*, *Kilulff*. *Wlff* by itself occurs once and is several times used as a contraction for one of its compounds.

² LD I, 95, but with the Gwrgenen of line 5 added from other sources. Some adjustment of the various pedigrees of this group of families is necessary, but there is no great difficulty once it is realised that collaterals from one branch of the clan have in some MSS.

1. Eidio Wylt.
 2. Bywal [not in Pen. 134 fo. 137; LD I. 94; Ph. 94 fo. 81; *Tydwal* in LD ii. 31; *Bidwal* in Karley 1975 fo. 137; *Bywell* in Ph. 13088 fo. 138].
 3. Golwg¹ Koch o Liwel [*Golof*, LD II. 31; *Golyf*, Ph. 13088 fo. 132; *Goloph*, BM. Additl. 28034 fo. 531].
 4. Mabren.
 5. Gwrgeneu.
 6. Gruffydd.
 7. Cadwgan Hen.
-
- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 8. Trahaiarn. | Cadwgan Fychan. | Gruffydd. |
| | | |
| 9. Meredydd Rhys. | Gruffydd Howel. | Cadwgan Goch. |
| 10. | | Gruffydd o Esgair Kaip. |

Of the sons of Cadwgan Hen (line 8) the pedigree says:—

Arhain oeddynt brif westva pob un y maenor Llan y ddan Ssaint yn Sir Gaervyrddin. [And all of these paid the chief *gwestfa* (food rent) in the manor of Llanddeusant, Carmarthenshire.]

An extent of that manor, were it to be had, would show whether that was so or not. Failing that, there is information in the Black Book of St. David's, where it is reported that in Patria de Langadok, including, perhaps, part of Llanddeusant and certainly bordering upon it, there was a stock descended from Cadwgan ap Gruffydd.² Among the tenants belonging to this stock in 1326 were the heirs of Rhys ap Trahaiarn,² who appears on line 9 of the pedigree given above, and both Hywel ap Cadwgan² and Gruffydd ap Cadwgan,² probably sons of Cadwgan Fychan

been set down as ancestors of another branch. MS Harley 1975, fo. 64, shows this done: the same MS., fo. 127, shows it corrected. So also does Cardiff MS. Ph. 13088, fo. 138, but a later hand has made additions reducing the whole again to absurdity.

¹ Possibly from O.N. *Oláfr*. ² Black Book of St. David's, p 282.

(line 9). Gruffydd o *Esgair Kaip* (line 10) can hardly have been other than *Gruffinus Oskeyrkeyb*¹ who, in 1326, was a juror in Llangadog. Taking that line of the pedigree to represent the generation of 1330, we may date the *floruit* of Eidio Wylt as circa 1030-60.

There are extant two versions of his ancestry. According to one² he was the son of Gilamwri [Ir. Gilla Muire] Earl of Desmond: the other³ is as follows:—

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. | Aelured brenin Kirian. | Vrien [Ir. Brian]. |
| 2. | Swtrig brenin Dulun (a) Desmont | = Aber. |
| | | |
| 3. | | Alured ne Aflaed brenin |
| | | Dulyn. |
| 4. | | Swtrigk ne Wigen brenin |
| | | Dulyn. |
| 5. | | Eidio Wylt. |

The name *Aelured*, *Alured* stands probably for E. *Aelfred*. That however, is an unlikely form in what is obviously an Irish Viking stem and it may well have been a misreading of a Scandinavian name. The alternative form, *Aflaed*, and the description 'brenin Dulyn' suggests that we have to do with the man called *Abloec*⁴ in Brut y Tywysogion, sub anno 1013, i.e. Olaf, father of the Sitric who fought against Brian Borumha at Clontarf. Both names, Sigtryggr and Olafr, were common in this period and we cannot be confident that the pedigree indicates the correct one as father of Eidio Wylt. It will be enough to note that Eidio Wylt must be counted, on the available evidence, as an Irish Viking. His name, it may be added, is unique in Welsh and was probably of Irish origin.

¹ Black Book of St. Davids, p. 276. ² Peniarth Ms. 134 fo. 137.

³ LD. I, 224. See also Appendix D.

⁴ With this form, possibly from the gen. of an Irish * Ablóc, may be compared E. *Havelock* and W. *Aulach* [*Aulach Goronog* = *Havelock* the Dane = *Olaf Cuaran*.]

Eidio Wylt is called Lord of Lliwel, by the grant of Rhys ap Tewdwr, his uncle,¹ a statement that does not accord with the dates, for Eidio's period was 1030-60 and Rhys was not in a position to make a grant before 1077. There is no difficulty however if we suppose, as may easily have happened, that the statements about marriage and gift of land have been slightly misplaced, that Nest married Eidio himself and that Lliwel was given to Golof Goch. It cannot be proved, apart from the pedigree, that Rhys gave land to either but nothing is more probable than that he did so to one or other. There is at any rate the certainty that for centuries the descendants of these men lived near the land in question and there is also in favour of the statement the position of Rhys towards the end of his reign. He had been driven from his territory by the sons of Bleddyn ap Cynfyn, but gathered an Irish fleet,² by which means he was restored, whereupon, says the Brut, he gave great treasure to the Scots and Gwyddyl of the fleet, i.e. to Vikings. This was not the first nor was it the last time during his reign that South Wales was visited by them³ and it would be strange if it did not occur to a Welsh prince, fighting against other Welshmen, threatened by the Normans and harried by the Vikings, to use one foe against another, to pit sea pirate against land shark. His power of paying treasure would be limited, and the inefficacy of such measures had been demonstrated: it would be more satisfactory to pay his allies, whose hold on Ireland was waning since Clontarf

¹ LD. I, 224:— Tewdwr

Rhys

Nest = Sitric

Eidio Wylt.

² Brut. T. 1087.

³ See Brut. T. sub. ann. 1078, 1089.

with a grant of land that would keep them settled, give them little leisure to harass him and make them more surely enemies of his enemies.

With danger threatening from the East, it would be to Rhys's advantage to command the doors by which Ystrad Tywi could be entered and it is therefore probable that Eidio Wylt or Golof Goch at Llywel, commanding the gap between Mynydd Myddfai and Mynydd Mawr and also the gap by which a road now runs from Brecon to Llangadog, was there to be an obstacle to the Normans. The clan is indeed found somewhat to the West of Llywel in the fourteenth century, but that may have been due to the barrier being broken and driven inwards, possibly when Rhys ap Tewdwr himself went down before the Normans in Brycheiniog in 1091.

Several questions connected with the pedigrees of the Cynferchin and of the families descended from Eidio Wylt have, for the sake of simplicity, been omitted from the foregoing account.¹

Many points that arise will probably never be settled, but enough perhaps has been done to show that there were at least two Viking strains among the mediæval Welshmen of Ystrad Tywi. In this Ystrad Tywi is not unique: Scandinavian elements can be traced in the pedigrees of many districts in Wales and the discovery of these elements will do not a little towards lighting the darkness of pre-Norman Welsh history.

¹ Some are discussed in Appendix C.

APPENDIX A.

THE URIEN RHEGED PEDIGREES.

A a. Ms. Peniarth 134 fo. 122.

(The pedigree was taken from "Llyfr Madryn": it follows, but is not apparently connected with, a pedigree of Salisbury of Llyweni. For Elidir Dew in this extract read Elidir Ddu).

dd ap hol ap Edn ap Med ap Jen llwyd ap Jen ap adda vawr ap Elidir dew ap Elidir ap Rys ap grono ap einon ap llowarch ap rririd ap mor ap pasgen ap uryen rreged.

A b. Ms. Mostyn 134 fo. 74b.

(The last place mentioned previous to this pedigree is Aberhoddni) Gwraic John ap harry oedh Annes vz gr ap Jnn ap gillim ap Meiric ap gwgan Ddz y varrwn ap Llwardh Cenhathwy hir || ap Ryn ap Ririd ap Mor ap Pasgen ap Irien Reged.

Mam Annes oedh Yngharad vz gr ap dd ap madoc ap gwŷon ||

Mam Yngharad oedh Wenlliā vz Rees goz ap Jenn ap Jenn ap Jeroth goz ap Cydwgan oedh etifedd y Saith igain haylwyd || gr ap Cydwgan ap llwardh or blaen ap Canhaethwy hir ac velly y Irien Reged.

A c. Llyfr John Brooke.

(In the margin:—Deheubarth. Ach Sr Rs ap Thoms.)

Sr Rs ap Thoms ap gr ap nicholas ap phillip¹ ap Elidir ddu | ap Elidir ap Rs ap gronw ap Eign ap llowarch ap mor ap Ynyr ap pasgen | ap Ywain ap Urien Rheged ap Kynvarch | ap meirchion ap grwst ap Kenau ap Koel godebog.

¹ This name is given twice and crossed out once.

A d. Cardiff Ms. Ph. 94 fo. 83.

Catherin do to Wm. John J . . . lloyd of landisyll
in the Coun of Cardigan | another to Mr Rs Phe ap
Phe ap dd ap Meredyth ap Rs ap gllm ap phe ap
Elider ddu ap Elider ap Rs ap Grono ap enerth ap
llowarch ap Rirydd ap mor ap masken ap urien
reged.

A e. Ms. Ph. 94 fo. 119.

(On this folio are three unrelated pedigrees vertically written: the stem here given is on the left hand side, the two last generations being carried back to the preceding folio. The stem is here printed horizontally: Llyminod Angel and Mor, the third and fourth names, are brothers, not father and son).

Urien rreged — pasgen — llyminod angel — mor —
riddydd — llwarch — rrun — saisyllt — gwrward — gwn-
haethwy — llywarch — Einion — grono — rrys — Elidir ai
wraic oedd gwladys ferch ffylib ap y bach ap gwaith-
foed — ffylib ap elidir ddu ap rrys — nikolas ai wraic
oedd sioned ferch gr ap lln foethus — Gr ap nikolas
ai wraic oedd siwan ferch siankyn ap ap (sic) rrys
ap dd.

A f. Ms. Ph. 13719 fo. 200-201.

(The pedigree is headed “Sir gaervyrddin: y Drefnewydd.” It is set down vertically in two columns, the bottom of the first (Llowarch) being joined to the top of the second (Einion) by a long stroke. Anne, wife of Ririd, is added in a later hand. Folio 201, starting with “Tomas Esq.,” is divided into three columns: in the first is the direct line: in the second the marriages and part of the pedigree of each wife: in the third the conclusion of the wife’s pedigree. The generations are indicated in the following extract by strokes.)

Urien Iarll Reged=Marged lleffay aeres (blank)
 | pasgen ap Urien=(blank) | Mor=(blank) | Ririd=
 Anne | Rrun=(blank) | Einion=(blank) Kynhaethwy
 hir=(blank) llowarch=(blank) | Einion=(blank)
 | Gronwy=(blank) Rys=Marged Ko aeres i
 gruff ap kydrych ap gwaithfoed | Sr Elidir marchog¹
 =gwladus vch flylip y bach ap gwaithfoed | Elidir
 dd M[archog] or beth [sanctaid] =Elsbeth v Seys-
 sylt l[ord] Katre selvf | ffylib=gwladus vch dd fras
 fledri | Nicolas Esq=Sioned v Gruff ap lln voethus |
 Gruff Esq 3 gwraig kynta=Sibli vch mreidd ap harri
 Dwnn | tomas Esq=Elsbeth vch Sr John ap Gruff
 ap Syr rys Ieuank ap Gruff ap Syr Rys hen ap holl
 ap Gruff ap Edn[yfed Fychan] | Syr Rys marchog or
 gardys=Mabl vch ko aeres henri ap gwilym ap tomas
 vchan [ap] tomas ap dd ap Gruff ap Gronwy goch |
 Sr Gruff marchog | Katrin vch Sr John Seindssian
 marchog Rys ifank Esq=Katrin vch Sr tomas haward
 Duwc o northffolk | Gruff rys Esq=Elnor vch Sr
 tomas ap ssion ap tomas ap Gruff ap Niklas ap ffylib
 | Water Rys Esq 1593 Elsbeth vch Sr howart Mansfelt
 marchog ap Syr rrys mansfelt ap Siankyn mansfelt.

A g. Brit. Mus. Harleian Ms. 1975 fo. 106-7.

(The pedigree is in English and drawn out in the modern way; it is copious and gives the matches in great detail. The extract below gives what is necessary for comparison with A f.)

Urien Reged, one of the Knights of the Round Table, ap Kynvarch ap Meirchion ap Gorwst ap Kenaw ap Cole Codeboge, K of Brittain | Pasgen ap Urien | Ivor ap Pasgen | Ynyr ap Ivor | Ririd ap Inir | Llowarch | Eignion | Grono ap Eignion | Rees ap Grono | Elidir | Elidir ddy ap Elidr ap Rees ap

¹ A line has been drawn through this word.

Grono | Phillip ap Elidr ddy=Gwladis da to dd vras
 ap Eignion goch ap Eign Vychan ap Eign goch ap
 Riwallo ap Bledry | Nicholas ap Phillipe Ellen da to
 Gruff ap Llu Voethus by the da to Jenn Lloyd ap
 Jenn ap Gruff Voel &c Cadivor ap Gwaithfoed |
 Griffith ap Nicholas of Newtowne=Sibella da to
 Mredd Ddym [Dunn written above] by Margett da
 to Gruff ap Cadogan Vychan ap Jer ap Cadogan
 Vawr | Thomas ap Gruff of Abermorlais & Newtowne
 =[1] Elizabeth da to Ffrank 2 son to the Duke of
 Burgundy =[2] Eliz da to John ap Gruff ap Sr
 [Rees] Ievank ap Gruff Rees hen &c Edn Vychan |
 Sr Rees ap Thomas Knight of the garter=Mabell
 da & heire to Henrey ap Glim | Sr Gruffeth Rees,
 Knight of the Bathe to King H. 7 | =Katharen da to
 Sr Oliver St John of Bletso, Kt | Rees ap Sr Gruff Rees
 of Newtowne=Katharen da to Thomas L. Howard,
 Duke of Norfolk | Gruffeth Rees of Newtowne=
 Elianor, da to Sr Thomas Jonnes, Kt | Sr Walter
 Rees of Newtowne Knight = da to Sr Edwd
 Maunsell of Morgan [i.e. Margam] Kt. 1 wife | Walter
 Rees son and heire.

A h. Brit. Mus. Additl. Ms. 28033 fo. 349.

(The pedigree, like the others in the MS., is written vertically with marginal links and references to other pages in this and other MSS. The extract below gives what is necessary for comparison, down to Sir Gruffydd ap Rhys, with A f and A g.)

Urien Reged | Pasgen | Meredith | Ririd | Llowarch
 | Eignion | Gronow | Rees | Elidr=Gwladys
 vch Kadwgan ap Jer ap Llowarch ap Brân | Elider
 Ddû = vch Seitsyllt ap Llu ap Moreiddig o
 Vrecheiniog | Philip=Gwladys vch dd Vras ap Eign
 goch ap Eign Vychan ap Eign goeg ap Rhiwallon ap

Pledrys Arglwydd Gwinnvai | Nicholas=Ellen fh Gruff
 ap Llen Voething ap Llen ddû | Gruffith=Mabli vch
 Mdd ap Henri Dwn ap Gr Dwn ap Cadwgan ap Gr
 ap Cadwgan fawr ap Gr ap Llen ap Gwrgant ap
 Gwyn ap Collwyn ap Llowrod Dyfet p lib' Price |
 Thomas=Elizabeth vch Gr Jon ap Gruff ap Tho ap
 Sr Rees Ivank | Sr Rees Abermorlais | Sr Gruffith
 Knight of the Bath.

APPENDIX B.

1. THE SONS OF URIEN RHEGED.

In Hanesyn Hen (Cardiff MS. 25) fo. 16, six sons of Urien are named, Eweyn, Run, Riwalaun, Elffyn, Pasken, Kateel. In some lists (e.g. LD II, 13) Kyndeyrn and Garthwys are added, but Hanesyn Hen makes Cyndeyrn Garthwys a son of Owen ap Urien (Cf. Achau Saint, Iolo MSS., p. 127). He was possibly the saint of Llangyndeyrn, in Llandyfaelog, in the Deanery of Kidweli.

The account in LD II, 60 differs in stating that Urien had only four sons, of whom but three are named. "4 mab a vy i Yrien Reged: Pasgen ap Iren ag Owain ap Irien a Deivyr vab Irien. A Deivyr vab Irien aeth a gwraig Owain ap Irien i vrawd ag efe a laddysai Owain ap Irien y vrawd onid bai iddaw gymeryd trigaredd arnaw." The source of this latter statement can scarcely have been Iarllles y Ffynnon, though it was probably related. In effect the gloss leaves Urien with two sons, for Deivyr is probably Deira and not a man's name. For these two sons, Pasgen and Owen, there is evidence: for Owen in the Mabinogion and the Saints' Pedigrees and for Pasgen in the pedigrees quoted in Appendix A. Run has been added probably on the strength of *Historia Brittonum*

and *Annales Cambriae*. Elffin, probably not the Elffin of fable (whose bondage and transformation suggest that his name is connected with Eng. Elf or with Norse Alf) has perhaps been added on account of a poem in the Red Bk. Hergest (Skene, ii. 271) where he is named after Owen and Pasgen. Elffin ap Urien may have got his name from Norse Alfinnr. Cadell is sometimes (e.g., MS. Hengwrt 287, fo. 281) equated with Cadell Deyrnllwg. Both in that MS. and in Cardiff MS. Ph. 13856, fo. 56, which does not confuse him with Cadell Deyrnllwg, he is said to be the father of Gorfyw Frych, a mythical, or at least a hitherto unsubstantiated, ancestor of Iestyn ap Gwrgan.

2. GLOSSES ON URIEN.

The following are representative glosses on Urien Rheged. "K. of Reged in Scotland and K. of Gwyr in So Wales and Lo of Iskennen Karnwllon and Kidweli in K. Arthoirs tyme" (Tonn 19 fo. 190). "K. of Cumbria or Reged in Scotland . . . he bilt the castle of Krig Kynen" (Harley 6870) "King of Reged in Scotland and King of Gwyr in South Walles and lord of Yskenen Corwal and Kydwely and also Knight of ye round table in Arthur's time: hee mared Marget Lefaien ds and heire to Carloyes duke of Corwall" (LD ii, 57). With Marget Lefaien of this account cf. Marged lleffay of MS. Ph. 13719, fo. 200. The original author of the gloss probably mistook Cornwall for Carnwyllon, and, to explain Urien's connection with the former, remembering that in Arthur's time Gorlois was Duke of Cornwall (*Hist. Regum VIII*, 20) married Urien to his daughter. Her name is reminiscent of Argoed Llwyfain.

APPENDIX C.

THE URIEN OF LEGEND.

1. URBGEN OF "HISTORIA BRITTONUM".

The passage generally regarded as an early and sufficient authority on the question of an historical Urien occurs in *Historia Brittonum* [Mommson's edition in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, p. 206] thus:—

Hussa regnavit annis septem: contra illum quattuor reges, Urbgen et Riderchhen et Gwallanc [leg. Gwallauc] et Morcant dimicaverunt. Deodric contra illum cum Urbgen filiis dimicabat fortiter. in illo autem tempore aliquando hostes, nunc cives vincebantur et ipse conclusit eos tribus diebus et noctibus in insula Metcaud et dum erat in expeditione. ingulatus est Morcanto destinante pro invidia, quia in ipso prae omnibus regibus virtus maxima erat instauratione belli.

This must appear conclusive to scholars who accept the Zimmer theory, that *Historia Brittonum* was originally compiled by a Northern Briton about 679 (*Nennius Vindictus*, pp. 81 and 86) but the view has since been conclusively discredited (*De Oudste Keltische en Angelsaksische Geschiedbronnen* Middelburg, 1911, pp. 39, 162) by Van Hamel. The passage quoted is an interpolation into the "Saxon Genealogies". These are not contained in the earliest known text of *Historia Brittonum*, the tenth century Chartres MS. (published by Duchesne, *Rev. Celt.* xv): that in which they do occur, Harleian MS. 3859, belongs to the late eleventh or early twelfth century and is not independent, but a recast of that found in Chartres (Newell, *Doubts Concerning Nennius*, Publications Modern Language Assoc. America, Sept. 1905, p. 671). The Chartres text is indeed entitled "Exberta Fiiurbaoen," i.e. "Excerpta Filii Urbagen" (Thurneysen, *Z. f. deutsche Philol.* xxviii): it may thus be taken as proving the existence of an Urien, but it does not prove that he did

not belong to the tenth century. It is a conjecture, but not impossible, that the filius Urbagen in question was Rhun ap Urien, whom the Harley 3859 text of *Historia Brittonum* and *Annales Cambriae*, contrary to the authoritative statement of Bede (*Hist. Eccles.* II, xiv), cause to baptize Edwin of Northumbria, but who may well have been a tenth century cleric. The passage quoted above, then, rests on the authority of Harley 3859, a frail basis, and in any case no good evidence concerning sixth and seventh century events.

The Morgan in the passage cited, cannot be identified: a 'Morgant uawr uab Sadyrmin' is named in a Red Book of Hergest poem (Skene ii, 219) as Urien's predecessor and another is named in an eulogy of Urien (Skene ii, 271) but no certainty is possible with regard to either.

Nor can the Rhydderch Hen above cited be identified, though he is usually equated with the following:—

1. Riderch *hen* map Tutagual map *Clinoch* map Dumnagual hen (Harley 3859 pedigrees).
2. Ryderch *hael* mab Tutwal *Tutelyt* mab Kedic mab Dyunwal hen (Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd).
3. Rodericus filius Tothail qui in *Petra Cloithe* regnavit (Adamnani Vita Columbae, edit. Fowler p. 28).
4. Ryderc *hael* mab Tudawal *Tutelyd* (Interpolation into 'Laws of Hywel Dda,' Myv. Arch. 977b).

Epithets are more than ordinarily important in such identifications: the portions italicised shew that Rhydderch 1 cannot (except by carelessly taking *hen* to be *hael*, *Clinoch* to be *Kedic* and assuming, without warrant, *Tutelyt* in the first stem) be taken to be the same as Rhydderch 2, 3 and 4. It may be added that Rhydderch 2 and 4 are at best legendary forms of Rhydderch 3. He has no epithet and died at home in Dumbarton (Vita., p. 29) whereas 'in abererch (bet) riderch *hael*' (Black Book of Carmarthen, Skene ii, 29).

The Gwallaug who occurs in the passage cited may be identified with Gwallawg ap Lleenau of MS. Harley 3859 and Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd but there is nothing in those documents, or in mediæval poetry naming this hero, that serves to prove his historical existence. The name may be an adjective as Lleenau (learned) is, and akin to such names as Nerth mab Kadarn in the Mabinogion (Oxford edit. p. 570) and Gwagedd mab Nos (Mostyn MS. 149 fo. 33).

2. URIEN OF 'HISTORIA REGUM.'

Examination of the names of those who attended Arthur's assembly at Caerlleon [Lib. ix, cap. xii] shows that Geoffrey had access to a source much resembling the Harley 3859 pedigrees: Cynfarch and Ceneu ap Coel, Urien's ancestors, are among the names borrowed from it. There occur also *Urgennius* of Bath, a name only, and *Urian*, King of Murreif. From the *Historia Regum* the following table can be constructed: references are also given to the Myvyrian text of Brut. G. ab Arthur.

[Cynfarch]		
Lot [consul of Londonesia, ix. ix: tywysogaeth Lodoneis, 534a: nephew and successor of Sichelin, i.e. W. Llychlyn?, King of the Norwegians, ix, x; 535a.]	Urian [King of Mureif, ix, x; ix, xii: brenin Reget, 536b.]	Augusel [King of Scots, ix, x; King of Al- bania ix, xii: Arawn vab Kynvarch brenin Escot- lont, 536b.]

With this may be compared Hanesyn Hen fo. 16:—

Kynfarch		
Lleu [or Llew]	Arawn	Urien

According to a poem in the Black Book of Carmarthen

[Oxford Facsimile ed. fo. 54] these three were nephews of Urien, being sons of Llywarch Hen :—

Tri meib Llywarch tri anghymen cad
 Tri cheimiad aflawen
 Llew [or Lleu] ac Araw (n) ac Urien.

It is possible however that the stanza ran originally Tri meib *Cynfarch*, and has been wrongly included in this poem.

Geoffrey, it will be seen, has included two brothers of Urien who do not occur in the Harley 3859 pedigrees and Bonedd Gwyr y Gogledd: he has also accepted the northern location of Urien implied in *Historia Brittonum*. It is noteworthy however that he has named, either by accident or design, a southern *Urgennius* and also appears to have known of some connection between Urien's family and Scandinavia.

3. URIEN OF IOLO MSS.

Two accounts of Urien Rheged, differing in detail, are given in Iolo MSS. pp. 70-71. They describe him as driving Irish invaders out of Gower, Carnwyllon, Kidweli and Iscennen, which districts were then conferred by Arthur on his nephew, Urien, who was besides King of 'Mwrif' in Scotland. The Scottish Kingdom was probably borrowed from Geoffrey: thence also, or from the *Mabinogion*, may have been taken the fact that Urien and Arthur were contemporaries. Arthur's relation to Urien is not however that given in *Historia Regum*, which makes Arthur his brother in law. The correct location of Urien in Ystrad Tywi was perhaps due to the compiler of the Iolo MSS. accounts having seen pedigrees of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, or some descendant. The expulsion of the Irish may go back ultimately to *Historia Brittonum* [Mommsen ed. p. 156: filii autem Liethan . . . Guir

Cetgueli, donec expulsi sunt a Cunedda . . .] After their expulsion from South Wales, the Irish, according to both accounts, retired to Anglesey, whence, according to the first account, they were driven with slaughter by the sons of Cunedda. The source of this was probably a gloss frequently occurring in pedigrees [for which see Transactions Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club, 1923, p. 47] describing the expulsion of Serigi Wyddel. In the Iolo MSS. accounts the Irish leader is called Gilmwr Wyddel and Gilmwr Rechdyr Brenin Iwerddon, possibly the Guillamurius of *Historia Regum* ix, x. It is Ir. Gilla Muire, and occurs also as the name of the father of Eidio Wyllt [Penarth Ms. 134 fo 137].

APPENDIX D.

NOTE ON THE ANCESTRY OF EIDIO WYLLT.

The full ancestry of Eidio Wyllt in LD I, 224 is as follows:—

1. Aelured Brenin Kirian ag
oedd yn aniser Howel dda
Ano Dome 944. = Gwrnbech v Marhatta brenin
Lagmor.
2. Swtrig brenin Dulun [a]
Desmont. = Aber v Urien brenin Gun a
ddwy rann o Werddon.
3. Alured ne Aflaed brenin
Dulyn. = Valkoner v Dunlingtethel
brenin Leinster.
4. Swtrigk ne Wigen brenin
Dulun. = Nest v Tewdwr ap Einion chwaer
Rhys ap Tewdor y towyssog.
5. Eidio Wyllt arglwydd Lliwel
wrth rodd Rys ap Tewdwr i
ewythir.

The source from which this was taken must have been scarcely legible and it was possibly related to some version of the ancestry of Gruffydd ap Cynan, as the following comparison with the Life of Gruffydd [edit. Arthur Jones, Manchester University Press] suggests:—

	LD I. 224.	Life of G. ap Cynan pp 104 and 106.
1	Aelured Brennin Kirian.	Avloed vrenhin cuaran [Cirian, Llanstephan Ms 150]
	Gwrnbech v Marhatta brenin Lagmor.	Gurmlach . . . merch . . vwrchath vrenin Laine.
2	Swtrig brenin Dulun	Sutric vrenhin
	Aber v Urien brenin Gun a ddwy rann o Werddon	Slani . . . verch y vrien brenhin muen, dwy rann o ywerdon
3	Alured ne Aflaed brenin Dulyn	Avloed vrenhin dinas dilyn
	Valkoner v Dunlingtethel brenin Leinster	merch vaylcorere verch dunlug m tethel vrenhin laine
4	Swtrigk ne Wigen. etc.	Not in the Hanes.

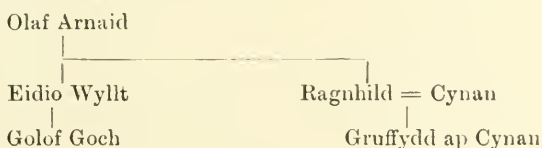
The Life and the Eidio Stem have one point in common—the alternation of the names Olaf and Sitric in the direct male line—but whereas the Eidio stem starts with Olaf Cuaran the Life starts with an Olaf two generations earlier. The effect of this will appear in the following tabulation of the two stems and the historical persons intended.

Life	LD I 224	
[Harfagyr vrenhin]		[Harald Fair-hair]
Avloed vrenhin		Olaf
Sutric		Sitric Caoch
Avloed . . . cuaran	Alured . . . Kirian	Olaf Cuaran
Sutric vrenhin	Swtrig	Sitric Silkenbeard
Avloed . . . Dulyn	Alured ne Afaed	Olaf Arnaid
	Swtrigk ne Wigen	

It is thus probable that the Eidio Wyllt stem should be moved up *en bloc* two generations, with the following result:—

1. Sitric Caoch (ob. 927)
2. Olaf Cuaran (ob. 981)
3. Sitric Silkenbeard (fought at Clontarf, 1013, Brut T.)
4. Olaf Arnaid (? ob. 1032, Chron. Scot.)
5. Eidio Wyllt
6. Golof Goch (* Oláfr Rauðr?)

This would imply that Golof Goch, rather than Eidio Wyllt, was the ally of Rhys ap Tewdwr. It would also mean the following relationship:—



It is, thus, not unlikely that when G. ap Cynan was practising piracy in the Severn estuary [Vita. S. Gundleii ; Rees, *Cambro-Brit.* SS, p. 151] his cousin Golof Goch was with him, nor, since G. ap Cynan and Rhys ap Tewdwr united to destroy Trahaiarn ap Caradog, at Mynydd Carn, is it unlikely that Golof Goch took service with his cousin's ally.



The old Parish Church, Merthyr Tydfil. Built 1808.



The Parish Church, Merthyr Tydfil, as re-built.

Notes on The Parish Register of Merthyr Tydfil, from A.D. 1703 to 1763.

BY

FRANK T. JAMES, V.D., M.B.E., *Penydarren House.*

THE REV. NATHANIEL JONES' MS.

THE earliest Register of the Parish of Merthyr Tydfil¹ is of considerable historic value, owing to the fact that between pages 86 and 91, we find in it a Manuscript written by the Revd. Nathaniel Jones, who was the Rector of the Parish during the Commonwealth period. The only record of the Revd. Nathaniel Jones, so far as the writer knows, occurs in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* (vide Charles Wilkins' *History of Merthyr*) from which we learn that Nathaniel Jones was "barbarously treated". A facsimile of the MS., reproduced from an excellent photostat copy made at the National Library of Wales (for which thanks are due to Mr. Ballinger, the Librarian) accompany these

¹ In Baring Gould and Fisher's *Lives of the British Saints*, under the heading of S. Tydfil, Virgin, Martyr the following extracts are appropriate, viz.:—

"The spelling of the town-name Merthyr Tydfil has fixed for us the modern form of this Saint's name, which should more correctly be Tudfnl. It is met with in a variety of spellings besides such as Tudfil, Tudfyl, Tydful, and Tydfyl."

"Tydfil was one of the daughters of Brychan. She is entered in the Vespasian version of the *Cognatio* 'Tudenel in Merthir Euineil'; and in the Domitian version, 'Tutuil ab ea dicitur Merthir Tutnil'. The misreading 'Merthir Euineil' has been made to yield another

notes, together with a fair copy of the same, the original manuscript being, as will be seen, in parts extremely illegible (see Appendix p. 179). The handwriting and phraseology are apparently those of a scholar and a devout man. Many years ago the late Mr. Aneurin Williams, of Middlesbrough, a grandson of Ab Iolo, borrowed the Old Register from the then Rector of Merthyr, and had a copy of Nathaniel Jones' MS. made and printed; it is also printed in Mr. Charles Wilkins' *History of Merthyr*. The manuscript was probably written by the Rector in an earlier Register which has been lost or destroyed. When the Churchwardens purchased the existing Register in 1703, the manuscript was bound up in the middle of the new Register for its better preservation. The copy speaks for itself, but the following observations upon a perusal of it, may be of some interest.

The reference to the ancient fabric of the Church must I think have referred to the Church co-temporary with the lower portion of the existing Tower, the Chancel and the Nave having been rebuilt in 1803; the original contract engrossed on skin is in the parish chest and was made between the then Churchwardens, William James and Richard Jenkins; the Contractor was Edward Powell and the contract price was £879. An interesting fact disclosed in the first part of the manuscript is the existence

daughter of Brychan, Enfail, to whom the Church of Merthyr, near Carmarthen, is generally assumed to be dedicated. But like not a few others of Brychan's children, her supposed existence owes its origin to a copyist's blunder. 'Euineil' stands without doubt for 'Tutuul', i.e., Tudful."

"In *Llanover Iolo MS.* p. 188, occurs the following account of Tydfil's martyrdom at Merthyr Tydfil: About the year 480 it is said that Dndfyl dau' of Brychan being here (at Merthyr Tydfil) on a visit to her father in his old age, was assassinated by the Pagans (Saxon Pagans says one MS., but it seems more likely to have been British or Pictish Pagans)."

of a steeple, at that time then likely to fall, owing to the theft of lead. Some of the houses built on the Churchyard are still in existence, the entrance to the Churchyard on the north side having been comprised in the Old Three Salmons Inn (now a shop); the passage to, and the door into, the Churchyard is still in existence.

Two out of the three bells were sold leaving only one bell, "without Cope or implements". Presumably the two heavy bells were sold leaving one small bell. Would this be the Sanctus Bell? It was the only article left of the things used at the altar—the "cope" or vestment was gone and so had the "implements" or utensils, the chalice, paten, censer, etc.

There is a reference to "putting somebody to preach in a 'Ew tree'"; there is no "Ew tree" now in the Churchyard, and none has existed during living memory.

Jenkin Jones and Harry Williams are the first Non-conformist names to appear in the manuscript; as to Jenkin Jones the reader is referred to Rees' *History of Nonconformity in Wales*. In the same paragraph the population of the parish is stated to be at that time 500. If the Rev. Nathaniel Jones returned to his old parish now, he would be probably astounded to find a population of over 80,000, and to see his parish church once more rebuilt. It appears that the Bible in the Parish Church was carried away and lost.

The Chapel referred to in the manuscript is not difficult to locate; tradition assigns Ty mawr Farm lying north-west of Cyfarthfa Works, as a former Pre-Reformation Chapel, but from three to four miles south of the Parish Church, there are the ruins of a Chapel on Cefn Forest, at the top of the hill on the eastern side of the Taff Valley, and also another Pre-Reformation Chapel called "Capel y Van" in the hamlet of Taff Cynon, five

miles due south of Merthyr Parish Church and approached by a road on Aberfan Farm still called "Rhiw'r Capel".

References are also made to ale houses and tobacco houses. The latter reference seems a curious one, possibly it refers to the sale of snuff.

The Parish of Merthyr had a bad reputation in the early part of last century for drunkenness and insanitary houses: in the seventeenth century Merthyr could apparently beat three of the best towns in the next Shires for eating, drinking and taking tobacco.

The first date mentioned in the manuscript is 1640. At that time apparently, six persons were sent to London to make certain mysterious charges against the Rector.

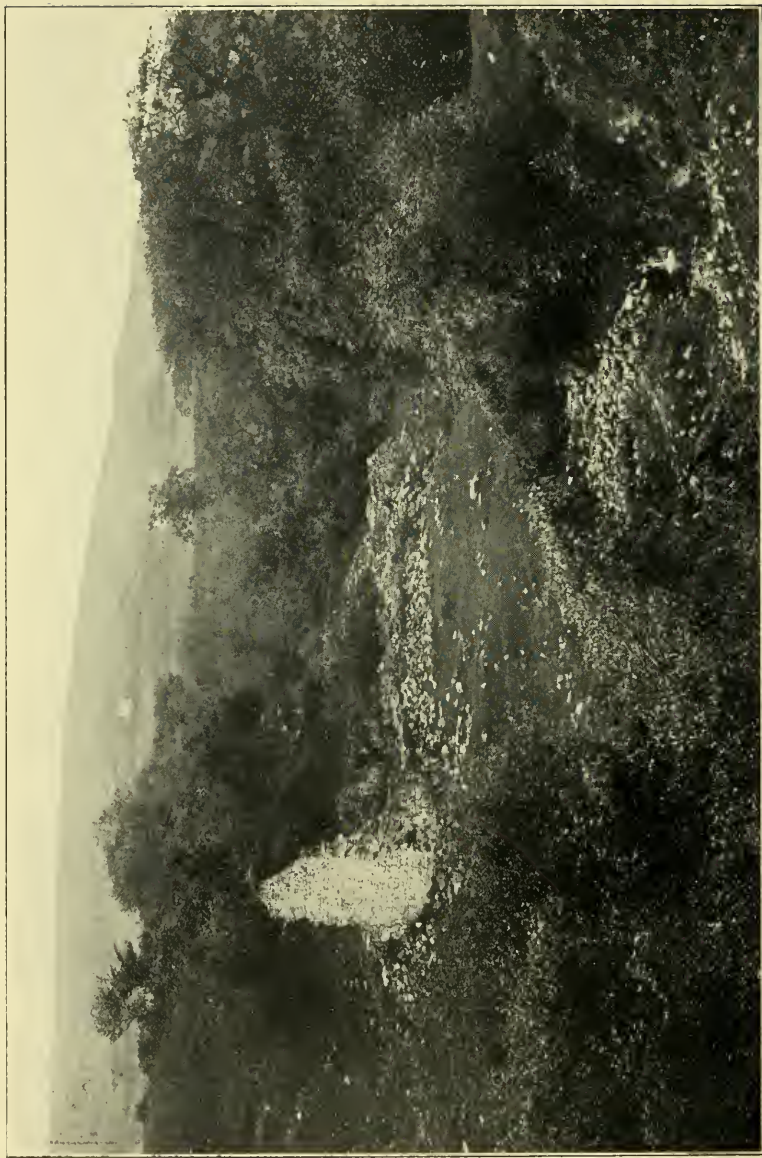
The Rector seemed to have been badly treated throughout with reference to his tithe. The tithe was withheld from him and enjoyed by others, but the Rector was called upon to pay the rates due upon it, and failing to meet the demand, soldiers were sent from Cardiff to levy this money. This bears a family likeness to what is happening in these modern times in relation to rents, rates and taxes. The Rector's financial plight is still further described where he first refers to his wife and seven children, and to his having the greatest part of his means taken away for ten years. In the year 1649 all the parishioners detained their tithes, and in 1650 they paid the Rector "a great deal worser than before", and so in "the third year (51) till December was past". The paragraph concludes with a somewhat pathetic declaration on the part of the Rector that he was never a "delinquent ejected or sequestered", and that for seven years he had not received "more than six-pence the pound of every pound in the parish". How the Rector and his family were kept alive it is difficult to conceive, probably charitable parishioners helped him to tide over the hard times.



To face p. 160.

Blaencanaid Farm, First Nonconformist Meeting-Place, 1620-1629 (Rebuilt 1840).

(In July, 1917, a filled-in arch-doorway in the cellar of the house was opened out, and a rectangular room discovered, approximately 10ft. x 8ft., which tradition says was used as a secret meeting-place.)



Ruins of Cwm-y-glo Chapel, Nonconformist Meeting Place, 1690-1749.

(From a Photograph taken by R. T. Crasshaw, in 1877.)

To face p. 161.

If this parish was a typical example of the Commonwealth period in Wales it does not appear surprising that after the Restoration the Dissenting Ministers were promptly ejected from the livings into which they had been placed.

THE PARISH REGISTER.

The original Register of the Parish covers the period 1703 to 1763, and consists of 138 written sheets of folio, together with a few blank sheets, and contains entries of burials, marriages and baptisms.

The Register has now been most successfully cleaned, repaired and rebound by the book-binder at the Welsh National Library, Aberystwyth, and is once more in the safe custody of the Rector of Merthyr.

Upon the first page of the Register the following memorandum is written (and nothing else) in a seventeenth century hand, viz:—

“Answers to several enquiry made by the Right Revd. Father in God Lord Bishop of Llandaffe concerning value etc. of livings under £80—in the diocese of Llandaffe reported by me concerning the living of in the County of the day of 1706.
With the answer and several enquiries distinctly in following distinct paragraph” (here follow several lines which are partly illegible).

There is no signature at the foot of the memorandum.

At the top of the second page of the Register is the following entry:—

“This booke was bought by William John and Lewis (“ ”) in April 1704 who were Churchwardens of this Parish in the year 17 and 1703, Edward Williams, Curate.”

The following is a list of the Incumbents, Curates and Churchwardens of the parish as contained in the Register:—

MERTHYR PARISH.

LIST OF INCUMBENTS AND CURATES.

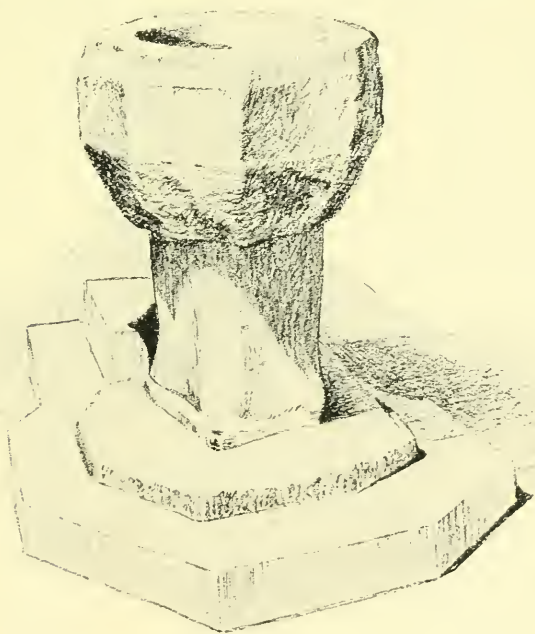
<i>Date.</i>	<i>Name of Incumbent.</i>	<i>Name of Curate.</i>
April 1704		Edward Williams
1718 {	E. Williams	} Edward Williams
	(Minister)	
1720		
25th Mar. 173		Thomas Morgan
Octr. 1729		Lewis Lewis
22nd Nov. 1731	Thomas Johnson	
1st Oct. 1731 {	Lewis Lewis	} Thomas Morgan
	(Minister)	
1736		
1738		
1754	Tho. Price	Philip Thomas
11th Apr 1755		Joseph Jones
		(Curate of Llan- wonno and Aber- dare)
19th Dec. 1755		Thomas Powell
1756 {		} David Davies
1757 {		
1758		
1758		Anthony Martin
		(Curate of Vaynor)
		Lewis Powell
		(Curate of Penderin)
		Lewis Powell
		(Curate of Ystrad- velltey)
16th Sep. 1759		John Davies
		"Thos. Jenkin Daniel
	(N.B. last page (138) of Register no date)	is an established Clerk in Merthyr- Tydvil "

and underneath above is written :—

"It is a burning
shame that all ir-
regularities are met
together in this
place."

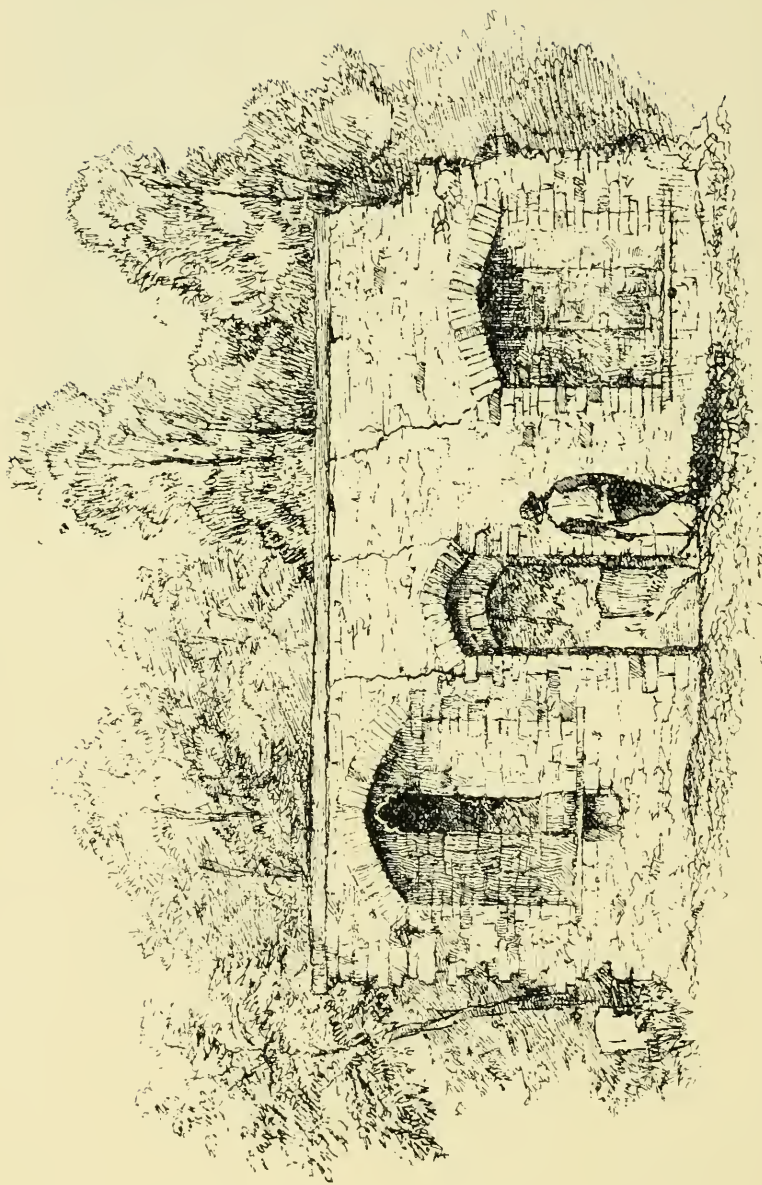


Interior of the Parish Church, Merthyr Tydfil.



To face p. 162

Font in the Parish Church, Merthyr Tydfil.
(From a Pencil Drawing by S. Cunnoŵ Vosper, R.W.S.)



Old wall of Chancel of Parish Church, Menththyr Tydfil.
(From a Drawing made in 1806, H. Cane, C. II.)

To face p. 163.

On the twenty-seventh page of the Register appears the following:—

“Thomas Price Rector of Merthir Tydvil died the 12th
“day of Octr. 1729 and buried 14th att LLandaff. Lewis
“Lewis Curate Merthir. He was Rector for 20 years”.

CHURCHWARDENS.

<i>Date.</i>	<i>Name.</i>
April 1704—	William John and Lewis “ “
“ 1718—	Jenkin Daniel and William George.
“ 1731—	Lewis Thomas and John Morgan.
“ 1738—	Richard Watkin and Jno. Llewelyn.
“ 1738—	Lewis Wm. John and John Llewelyn.
“ 1739—	John Jenkin and John Thomas.
“ 1740—	Morgan William and Evan Richard.
“ 1741—	Philip William and William John Robert.
“ 1742-3—	William Lewis and Daniel Watkin.
“ 1743—	Tho. William and Thomas Rosser.
“ 1744—	David Jenkin and William Thomas.
“ 1745—	Tho. Edward Mathews and Thomas Edward.
“ 1746—	Lewis Thomas and Watkin Edward.
“ 1747—	Watkin Edward and Lewis Thomas.
“ 1748 {	John Thomas and Wm. Henry.
“ {	Walter John and Morgan Rowland.
“ 1749—	Richard Thomas and William Thomas.
“ 1750—	Edward David and Lewis Philip.
“ 1751—	William David and Edward William.
“ 1753—	Thomas Pritchard.
“ 1753—	William Lewis and Edward Harry.
“ 1753—	Thomas Pritchard.
“ 1753—	William Lewis and Edward Harry.
“ 1754—	William Lewis and Edward Harry.
“ 1755-6—	Edward Morgan and Samuel Daniel.
“ 1759-60—	Thos. Rees and Edward Lewis.
“ 1761 {	Lewis Richard and William John.
“ {	David Thomas and Lewis Evan.
“ 1762—	David Thomas and Lewis Evan.
“ 1763—	Lewis William and Lewis Evan.
“ 1764—	John Thomas.

The earliest entry of an incumbent's name is E. Williams (Minister), the word Minister appears also in the Lewis Lewis entry.

From the comparatively few personal entries in the Register the Rector of the parish was apparently non-resident, as was the case in many other parishes in England and Wales. It would be interesting to know why Thomas Johnson was presented to the living, he does not appear to have held it long—then we have one entry only of Lewis Lewis (Minister), but Tho. Price appears to have been Rector for twenty years. According to Wilkins the historian of Merthyr, Thomas Price was an intimate friend of John Wesley, and an Oxford man; on his mother's side he was a Scudamore and descended from Owen Glendower.

As to curates, Anthony Martin appears to have officiated for about twenty years, and at one period was curate of the adjoining parish of Vaynor.

As to the Churchwardens, no entry appears for the years 1757 and 1758; they all appear to have been natives of the parish and the names are all Welsh. The Johns, Prichards, and Lewis families in all probability represented the present owners of Gwernllwyn Estate, Dowlais (Johns), Cefn Forest (Prichard), and Troedyrhiw (Lewis' of the Van).

The first entry in the register is that of the burial, on April 9th, 1704, of William Richard Howell, Tafe yr Chynnan (modern—hamlet of Taf Cynon), and the last entry is that of the marriage of "Lewelyn Phillip and Mary Henry", dated 26th Nov., 1763.

The parish of Merthyr was divided into the following hamlets:—

Taf Cynon.—Extends from the lower end of Abercanaid village to Abercynon.

Martha Jones y Gylldwyd 11y 26
 Edward Lewis A Gylldwyd Hydref 20
 Ed David John y Gylldwyd Iachwedd 10
 Mary Paim y Gylldwyd Iachwedd 21
 Thomas mab John y Gylldwyd Iachwedd 22
 Mary mab Lewis y Gylldwyd 22 Iach
 Jonkin John o foon y maon a Gylldwyd Rhyfyr 13
 Thomas David a Catharina Thomas Brice Rhyfyr 3
 Hugh Lloyd a Gylldwyd Rhyfyr 21
 Wm Omond y Gylldwyd Ionawr yfyr 8

Sepulcrum Nuptorum et Baptizatorum Nomina
 in ecclesia Parochiali Merthyr Tydfil. Anno Domini
 1732.

Sepulcrorum Nomina

Ludovicus William Sepultus est 21^{mo} die Aprilis 1732
 Job Harry Sepultus fuit 10^{mo} die Maii Anno Domini 1732
 Gulielmus Robert Sepultus 21^{mo} die Maii 1732
 Daniel Filius Jacobi Davies Sepultus 4^{to} die Junii 1732
 Gwendoliana Uxor Richardi Jenkin 12^{mo} die Julii
 Jacobus Filius Jacobi Davies 3^{to} die Augusti
 Johannes Reynald 11^{mo} die Septembris
 Jenkinus Filius Richardi Jenkin Sepultus 26^{to} Octobris
 Maria Joha de Lenderin Sepulta
 Ludovicus Morgan de Kelligar 4^{to} die Novembris
 Elizabetha Morgan 8^{to} die Novembris
 The Morgan

William and Jackson Morgan Tenants to the
 upon the Duffin Land in the Forrege Hamlet
 our Parish of Merthyr are bound by their respective
 leases to maintain and secure all such Land of their
 respective Tenements which adjoin to the River Goff from
 all sort of damages that may incur from the violence
 of the said River, and whereby by a long neglect of the
 mounds and Fences of the said Land they are now to ruin
 and the Land so much wasted that they cannot be repaired
 and secured without great expence and Labour which the
 said Tenants by reason of their poverty are not able to
 undertake. These are to certify to all to whom that present
 shall appear that all the Parish of this Parish of Merthyr
 many of whose names are under written having taken
 the Condition of the said Tenants Arn Gwyn and Jackson
 Morgan into our Charitable consideration, have this
 day agreed that for this one time and no more we will
 help and assist the said Tenants in making of a wall
 in the said River in order to secure the said Land. And
 we do hereby declare that we are not bound or obliged
 on any account what soever to maintain or secure
 the said Land but that we now afford the said Tenants
 this our help and assistance as a pure Act of bounty
 and Charity to them in their present Distress. Witness
 our hands the 30 of October in the year of our Lord God
 1714

John v. Watkins
 John v. Thomas

1714

1714

Richard Gwynne
 Lewis Williams
 Jackson Morgan
 Lewis Thomas
 John Morgan
 Lewis Lewis
 William John

Gellydeg.—Extends from Abercanaid to Cefn Coed on the western bank of the River Taf.

Forest.—The eastern valley of the Taf extending from Dyffryn to Quakers Yard. Comprising part of Troedyrhiw, Merthyr Vale and Treharris.

Garth.—Comprising the greater portion of the town of Merthyr proper, including Penydarren.

Heolwormwood.—Comprising Dowlais and portions of the Town and Plymouth Wards.

N.B.—Hoelwormwood presumably is Wormwood Road. Probably the herb wormwood was found in the neighbourhood of the road.

It is a curious fact that Welsh entries only appear in the Register in the years 1730 and 1731; the first entry is as follows:—"Wm. Zachews A Gladdwyd Mai y 17theg" (1730).

The handwriting during the above period is not a very scholarly one, but in the year 1732 there is a sudden change, and all the entries are made in Latin, pursuant probably to an order from some superior ecclesiastical authority. The entries are preceded by the following heading: "Sepulorum Nuptorum et Baptizatorum Nomina in Ecclesia Parochiali Merthir Tidvill Anno Domini 1732". The Latin entries do not last long, the earliest is dated 21st April, 1732, and the last 24th August, 1733.

On page 82 of the Register the following Memorandum is inserted, viz.:—

MEMORANDUM.

Whereas Arn^d. Wm. and Zachæus Morgan Tenants to Tho. Lewis Esqr. upon the Duffrin Land in the Forrest Hamlet of this our Parish of Merthir are bound by their respective Leases to maintain and secure all such lands of their respective tememts which adjoyn to the River Taff from all losses or damages that may incur from the violence of the said river; and whereas by a long neglect of the

mounds and fences of the said lands they are now so ruined and the land so much wasted that they cannot be repair'd and secur'd without great expence and Labour which the said Tenants by reason of their poverty are not able to undertake: THESE are to certifie to all to whome these presents shall appear that we the Parish'ners of this Parish of Merthir many of whose names are under written haveing taken the condition of the said Tenants Arnd Wm. and Zachæus Morgan into our charitable consideration, have this day agreed that for this one time and no more we will help and assist the said Tenants in makeing of a weire in the said River in order to secure the said Lands. And we do hereby declare that we are not bound or oblig'd on any account whatsoever to maintain or secure the said Lands but that we now afford the said Tenants this our help and assistance as a pure Act of Bounty and Charity to them in their present distress. Witness our hands the 30 of October in the year of our Lord God 1714.

D. Lewis	John O. Watkin	1714	1714.
Richard Edward	John I. Thomas		
Lewis William	John William		
Jenkin Griffith	Morgan D. Leyson		
Lewis Thomas	Jenkin Thomas		
John Morgan	Matthew Thomas		
Edw. Lewis	Morgan Morgan		
William John	Thomas Wm.		

It is very curious why this Memorandum should have been written in the Register in 1714. There is nothing ecclesiastical about it except that it is a record of a charitable act on the part of certain parishioners. Thos. Lewis no doubt represents a branch of the Lewis' of the Van near Caerphilly, and the lands referred to are the lands bordering the River Taff north of Troedyrhiw, and situate about two and a half miles south of Merthyr; the village of Troedyrhiw is built on the estate of the descendants of Thos. Lewis, who are now represented by Mrs. Charlotte Eleanor Wyndham Murray Threipland, the wife



Thomas Lewis of the Van, near Caerphilly, and his wife.

(Reproduced by kind permission of Lady Orr-Ewing, of Dryburgh Abbey, St. Bostwell's, Scotland (formerly Mrs. Wyndham Lewis of New House), and the courtesy of Lieut.-Colonel W. Murray Threipland, D.S.O., New House, Llanishen.)



**Patrick Wyndham Murray
Threipland
(1925)**

*Part owner of Troeddyrhirio
Farm and Torenship.*

*Descended on the maternal
side from Lewis of the Van.*



To face p. 166.



To face p. 167.

Monument to Thomas Lewis of the Van, Glamorganshire, in the Church at Soberton, co. Hampshire, with the Bust by Schiemakers.

of Lieut.-Colonel W. Murray Threipland, of New House, Llanishen, near Cardiff. According to Clark's *Genealogies of Glamorgan*, Thomas Lewis is described as of Van, St. Fagans, and Soberton, Co. Hampshire, also of Hanover Square, London, Member of Parliament for Chipping Wycomb, Hampshire, Southampton, New Sarum and Portsmouth. He died at Soberton on 22nd November, 1736, and is there buried; in the church there is a fine monument, surmounted by a good bust by Schiemarkers. Upon his marriage he settled amongst other estates that of Merthyr Tydfil excepting certain messuages in that town.

In the year 1739 a question had evidently arisen as to the hour at which morning service should commence, and the following Memorandum appears on page 85 of the Register :—

“ Be it remembred That at a Vestry held on the 5th Day of September 1739 it was decreed by us whose names are hereunto subscribed that the Morning Service of the parish Church of Merthyr Tydvil in the County of Glamorgan and Diocese of Landaffe should begin at the Hour of Eleven o'clock every Sunday. As Witness our hands the Day and Year first above mentioned.”

John Jenkin	} Churchwardens	Richard John
John Thomas		John Thomas
Thomas Richard		Richard Thomas
Watkin Rees		William George
David Thomas		John Henry
Morgan Thomas		Lewis William
Ricard Thomas		James David
Mathew Walter		Will. Richard
William Rees		Morgan Thomas

Page 84 of the Register contains the following Memorandum showing Collections obtained in the year 1728 for repairing and rebuilding the Parish Church of Dolgelly

4/- and in the year 1731 for the Cathedral Church, Llandaff, 26/6 :—¹

5 Octob. 1728.

Md. That Four Shillings was this day collected on a Brief granted for collecting Money towards repairing and rebuilding ye Parish Church of Dolgelly in ye County of Merioneth at ye Parish Church of Merthyr Tydvill and that ye sd sum of four shillings was sent along with ye Brief to be return'd this next visitation at Landaff by Jenkin Daniel one of ye Church Wardens. Collected by

J. Williams, Minister.

Jenkin Daniel }
William George } Churchwardens.

Memor. That Twenty six shillings and Six pence was collected in ye Psh of Merthir Tidvil towards Rebuilding ye Cathedral Church of Llandaff 8ber ye 1st 1731 a'said Mr. Thomas Davies collector.

Lewis Lewis, Minister.

Lewis Thomas }
John Morgan } Churchwardens.

¹ In the inside of the outer cover of the Register of Marriages for the years 1766 to 1792 the following entries appear, viz. :—

"Memorandum on a Brief in this Parish Church towards rebuilding Aberavon Church on Sunday, the 24th of May, 1767, the sum of 4s. 8d. which with the Brief was returned to Llandaff the 9th of October next ensuing by John Thomas and W^m Robert, Churchwardens.

MEMORANDUM.

"Collected in this parish to the use of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts the sum of 12s. 6d. which was returned to Llandaff the 8th of October, 1779, by Richard Watkins, Churchwarden.

"Collected in this Parish towards the relief of the French Clergy the sum of ten pounds which was remitted to Mr. Pearson at Llandaff the 15th of June by W^m Evans's maid servant.

"Collected in this Parish for the use of the Welsh Congregation at Liverpool the sum of one pound and 3 shillings which was returned to Mr. Pearson at Llandaff the 9th of October, 1795, by Rich^d Hill, Esq., Churchwarden".

1758
John the Son of David Rees of Lloynkellyn was Baptiz'd abt the 4th Day of
February By M^r Samuel Davies Dissenting Minister
Mary D^r of Timothy & Sarah Davies was born 2nd Day of April
in the year 1758 & Baptiz'd soon after by y^e above name

Thos^l Richard was born in April in the year 1678

The following persons were baptiz'd by y^e Dissenting minister

1753
march 1st Morgan Son of William John & Anne his wife. by Polly & Mary H. & D.
15 march 1756 William Son of William John & Anne his wife H. & D.
may 2 1758 Thos^l Son Denkin Morgan & Catherine his wife. H. & D.
July 20 1758 Mary D^r of William John & Anne his wife H. & D.
may 20 1761 Tabitha D^r of William John & Anne his wife H. & D.
octob^r 12 1760 Mary D^r Denkin Morgan & Catherine his wife H. & D.

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John the Son of Dav
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Mary Dr of Fi
in the year 17

Tho! Richard wa

The following person

1753

march 1st Morgan Son

15 march 1756 William

may 2 1758 Tho! Son Je

July 20 1758 Mary Dr

may 20 1761 Tabitha Dr

octob^r 12 1760 Mary

On the same page of the Register is the promise by Thos. William to pull down a hovel erected on Church Yard Wall, viz.:—

“I Thomas William of the Parish of Merthir Tidville in the County of Glamorgan for myself my Heirs and executors do promise to pull down the Hovel I erected on the Church Yard Wall whenever the Reverend Mr. Johnson the present Rector or his successors shall order, as witness my Hand this 28th day of December 1736.

Thomas William.

Witness, Tho. Morgan C.

On pages 73 and 86 of the Register are entries relating to baptisms by Dissenting Ministers; it is curious that at that period entries were made in the parish Register. Query, was it for lack of any official Register of the Dissenters at that period.

Page 73.—1758.

John the Son of David Rees of Lwyrnkelyn, was born January 20th day and Baptized abt the 4th day of February by Mr. Samuel Davies, Dissenting Minister.

Mary Dr. of Timothy and Sarah Davies was born 8th day of April in the year 1758 and Baptized soon after by ye above named. Thos. Richard was born in April in the year 1678.

The following persons were baptiz'd by ye Dissenting Minister.

1753. March 1st—Morgan son of William John and Anne his wife by pwll yr hwyad. H.W.

15th March, 1756—William Son of William John and Anne his wife. H.W.

May 2, 1758—Thos. son Jenkin Morgan and Catherine his wife.

July 20, 1758—Mary Dr. of William John and Anne his wife. H.W.

May 20, 1761—Tabitha Dr. of William John and Anne his wife. H.W.

Octobr 12, 1760—Mary Dr Jenkin Morgan and Catherine his wife. H.W.

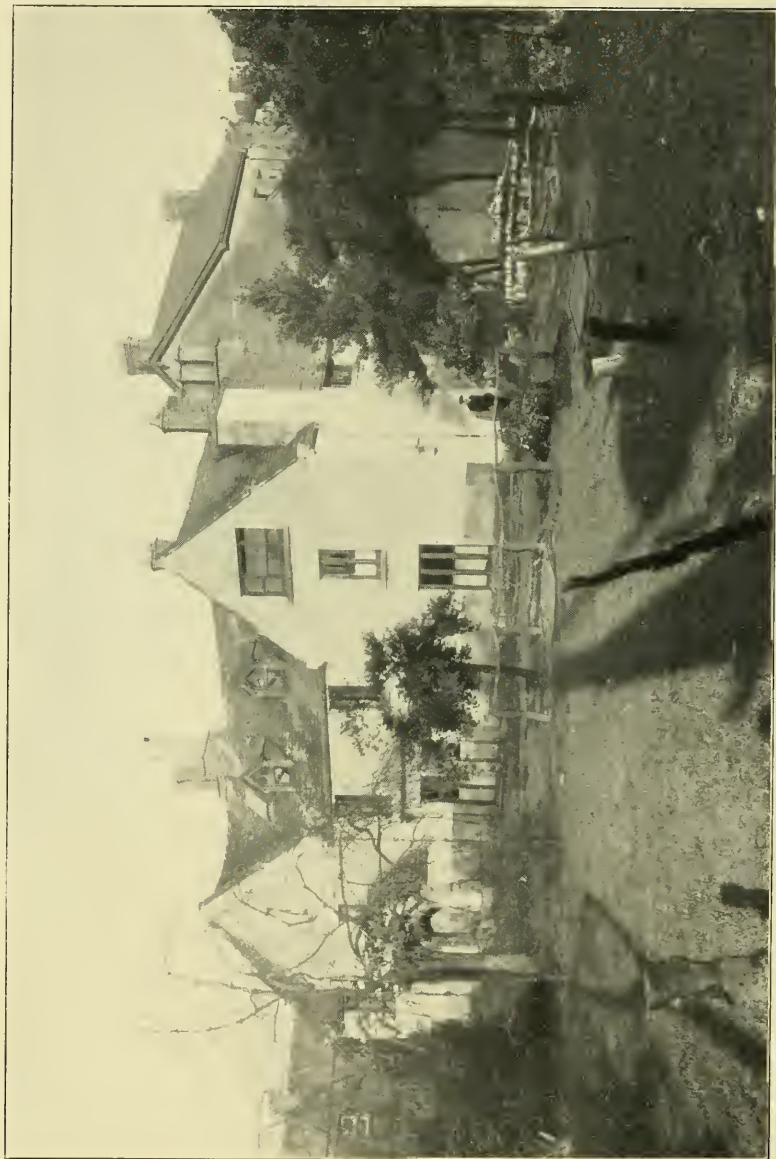
Page 86.

I am informed that these following Sons were Chris'ned by the Puritant Teacher:—Daughter of Thomas Lewis. Son of William Jenkin. Son of David John of Gwerllwyn. Son of Edward Watkin. Son of James Davies.

SURNAMES.

Most surnames in the Register are Welsh, such as, Jenkins Watkins. John, Morgan, Davies, Williams, Howell, Harry, Edward, Hugh, Prees, Richard. David, Lewis, Evan, Daniel, Llewelin, Owen, Treharne, Walter, Rees, Phillips, Rosser, Thomas, Lewis, Jenkin, Bevan, Reyald (later Reynolds), Meyrick, Vaughan; there are very few entries containing the name James. Treharne appears in thirty separate entries covering a period from 1704 to 1761, it is spelt Treharne in twenty-nine instances, Traharne two, Traharn two, Trahairn two, Treharn eighteen, Traherne two; the earliest entry namely in 1704, records the burial of Rees "Traharn". Probably the diversity in the spelling of this Surname is due to the carelessness of the Curate who made the entry, very few entries were made by the Rector.

In Clark's Work on the *Genealogies of Glamorgan* (p. 66) he states that "Gwilim Sais" of Merthyr Tydvil, third son of Madoc ap Howel Velyn, bore for arms, Argent a fess, sable, between three cocks gules, his second son Meyric ap Ieuan, married Crisly, daughter of Llewelyn Morgan ap Llewelyn of Tredegar (query a branch of Lord Tredegar's family), and his third child was Traherne. This son was of Merthyr, and married Margaret, daughter of Morgan ap Llewelyn ap Ivor of Tredegar, and had Crisley, who married Richard ap Lewis Gwyn of the family



The Court, Merthyr Tydfil.

To face p. 171.

of Lewis of Van; she further had a son, whence the Vaughans of Merthyr and Gelligaer (see p. 68). There is also a reference on page 45, under the Lewis of Van pedigree, to Llewelyn Ychan ap Llewelyn of Merthyr, whose daughter Joan married Treharne of Llwyncelyn by Merthyr. Llwyncelyn is still in existence as a dwelling-house, but much altered and enlarged; it is situate on the south-western outskirts of the Town of Merthyr Tydfil.

According to Clark the Lewises of the Van owned the Court Estate at Merthyr and Pontrhun near Troedyrhiw, a few miles south of the town of Merthyr Tydfil. In the pedigree these Lewises are called Lewis of Glyn Taff.

In the *Genealogies* (p. 310), under the Family of Morgan, a reference will be found to Margaret the daughter of Morgan of Tredegar and St. Clears marrying a Traherne ap Meyrick of Merthyr.

Lewis and Treharne have been mentioned for the reason that it is difficult to identify any other names. Thos. Lewis Troedyrhiw (Pontrhun) is referred to in the agreement as to the Dyffrin Land.

The following Surnames other than Welsh appear in the Register, viz.:—

Marriage of Thomas Hawthorn to Mary Challacombe (1762).

Burial of Child of Godwin Herbert of Penderin (1704).

In Clark's *Genealogies* (p. 303) there is a Godwin Herbert of Gyfylechi who married Ann, daughter of William Matthew of Aberaman (the same family as the extinct family of Mathew of Llandaff), and in the same pedigree a second Godwin Herbert who married Jane, daughter of Captain Games of Llanelly, County Monmouth. Aberaman in the Aberdare Valley is not many miles from the Parish of Penderyn in Breconshire and

possibly the Godwin Herbert mentioned in the Register was a descendant:—

Magdalen the wife of Richard Luke, Carmarthenshire—buried January 8th, 1707.

Buried 5th May, 1715—Hopkin Leynard.

Baptized 17th Nov., 1715—Richard the Son of Mr. Thomas Aires.

(N.B. "Mr." is very rarely found in the Register).

Baptized—Anne daughter of Hopkin Gibson.

Buried 25th Oct., 1716—Edward the son of James Basting.

Married 7th June, 1719—Watkin William and Catherine Godwin.

Baptized 1727—Mary daughter of Thomas Caleb.

Married 17th Dec., 1723—James Coslet of Rhydery and Catherine John of Merthyr.

Married 4th August, 1722—John ap John and Alice Samuel.

Christened 7th Dec., 1735—Margaret daughter of Thomas William Taylor.

Christened 4th Feb., 1738—William son of David William March.

Married 21st Dec., 1744—Thos. Rosser and Elizabeth Myrton.

Christened 11th Sept., 1748—John the son of John Dobbs.

Christened 9th July, 1749—William the son of Thomas Saddler.

Christened 22nd Oct., 1749—Anne the daughter of Thomas Probyn.

Buried 25th Nov., 1748—Patrick Black-Scotchman.

Christened 1st Feb., 1756—Elizabeth the supposed daughter of William John Laurence.

Christened 6th April, 1755—Lewis the son of Thomas and Elizabeth Arnold.

Buried 3rd May, 1760—Rev. James Davies y Dissenting Minister.

Buried 8th Sept., 1760—John Watkin—John-y-Gwaudd.

Christened 6th July, 1760—Thos. son of John Phelps by Mary his wife.

Buried 30th July, 1761—Frank son of Frank Hill.

CHRISTIAN NAMES.

Gwenllian, Joan, Rhoda, Lloseu, Johan, Malt, Ynghared, Tabitha, Frydeswith, Gaynor.

Godwin, Zackray, Zacheus, Miles, Phelus.

PROFESSIONS AND TRADES.

25th Sept., 1714—Buried William son of Thomas William, the Councillor.

22nd May, 1762—Christened Mary daughter of Mr. Thomas Pritchard, Surgeon Cefn y Forrest.

16th June, 1706—Baptized William Lewis, Mason, Gellideg.

18th Aug., 1706—Baptized Jenkin son of William Williams, "Fiddler", Howellwormod.

23rd Oct., 1706—Buried wife of John Howell, the Weaver.

24th April, 1708—Buried Edward, an Apprentice to John William, Shoemaker.

27th April, 1713—Buried Harry, the Glasier.

1714—Baptized Abraham the base son of Wm. John, the Doctor's daughter.

1714—Buried Elizabeth the daughter of John William, the Shoemaker.

1714—Buried Mary the wife of John William, the Cobbler from Pontycapel.

1714—Baptized Thomas the son of William Morgan, Clerk.

1714—Buried Anne the wife of John William, the Shoemaker.

25th Nov., 1714—Buried William son of Thomas William, the Councillor.

30th Dec., 1735—Christened Thomas son of Thomas Williams, Officer (query Excise Officer).

5th Sept., 1713—Buried Thomas Lewis (the Joiner).

10th Aug., 1739—Buried William Thomas John of Vaynor, Blacksmith.

24th Dec., 1739—Christened John son of Rees Thomas, Cordwainer.

28th Feb., 1739—Buried Richard Jones, Innkeeper.

17th July, 1744—Buried James David, Cordwainer.

22nd Jan., 1744—Buried John Jones, Apothecary.

1747—Christened Jenkin the son of Evan Price, Officer.

9th July, 1749—Christened William the son of “
” Thomas, Saddler.

16th June, 1749—Christened Thomas the son of Thomas Jones, Officer.

25th March, 1749—Buried Morgan Jones, Victualler.

20th Feb., 1751—Christened Gaynor the daughter of Thomas Jones, Officer.

6th Dec., 1760—Buried Annie daughter of David Walter, Weaver.

3rd Jan., 1761—Buried Bess y Fammaeth, pauper Pembrokeshire (Midwife).

15th May, 1761—Buried Mr. John Llewelyn, Officer of Excise.

16th Nov., 1761—Buried William son of Hugh Lewis, Shoemaker.

24th Oct., 1762—Buried Rees Richard, Bailiff, Cwmyglo.

7th Aug., 1762—Christened Susan daughter of Edward Rees, Tinker, and Tabitha his wife Gelligeg.

23rd July, 1763—Buried Phelus Morgan David Morgan Butcher's wife Village.

PLACE NAMES.

Kellygaer (1706), Keligaer (1707), Gelligare (1707), Kelligare (1709), Gelligaer (1711), Gelligaer (1713), Gelligare (1714), Gellygar (1716), Gellygar (1716), Gelligar (1717), Gellygâr (1717), Gelliger (1717), Gelligaer (1718), Gelligaer (1718), Gelligaer (1719), Gelligaer (1719), Gelligaer (1719), Gelligaer (1719), Gelligaer (1719), Gelligaer (1721), Gelligaer (1722), Gelligaer (1722), Gelligaer (1724), Kelliger (1733), Kelligaer (1735), Kelligare (1737), Kelligaer (1738), Kelligaer (1739), Kelligaer (1749), Kelligaer (1750), Kelligaer (1752), Gelligare (1754), Gelligaer (1760), Gelligare (1761), Gelligaer

(1761), Gelligaer (1762), Kellegare (1762), Kellygare (1763), Kelligare (1763), Kelligare (1763), Kelligare (1763).

Penderin (1704), Penderin (1717), Penderyn (1717), Penderyn (1718), Penderyn (1719), Penderyn (1737), Penderyn (1737), Penderin (1758), Merthir (1713), Merthir (1714), Merthyr (1719), Merthyr (1721) (8 entries), Merthyr Tydfil (1720), Merthyr (1724), Merthyr Tidville (1730), Merther (1731), Merthyr Tydvil (1754), Merthyr Tydvil (1754), Merthyr Tidvil (1754), Merthir Tydvil (1756), Merthir Tydvil (1756), Tydvil (1756), Merthyr Tydvil (p. 138).

Garth Hamlet (1704), Taf y Cynon (1712), The Fryars—William the Old Man of (Buried 1st Sep. 1715), Capel y Brithdyr (Mar. 1717), Gellideg (1718), Fforest (1735), Cardiff (1749), Aberdare (1752), Gwernllwyn Bach (1760), (Little Alderbush). The Court (1761), Abernant Cethin (1763), Cethin Brook Junction. Cefn y Forrest (1762) The Ridge of the Forest. Pen-y-fonwent (1763), Head of Grave Yard, (Site of Old Three Salmon Inn). Chapel of Nantddu (1740), (Cwntaff Valley Breconshire), Ystradvodock (1761), Llandaff (1706), Tafe y Chynnan (1704), Pontsticill (1704), Pen-y-Rimney (1704), (now Blaen Rhymney Farm, North of Rhymney Bridge Station) Fforest Hamlet (1705), Vaynor (1765), Gellydeg Hamlet (1765), Llanwynno (1706), Howellwormod (1706), Ystrad fellty (1706), Kefon Glase (1707) (The Green Ridge), Carmarthenshire (1707), Pen y ddau Cae (1707) (Top of the Two Fields), Llanganwid (1707), Carmarthenshire (1707), Wayn Newydd (1709) (New Mead), Taf yr Cynnon (1711), H'wormod Hamlet (1712), Pandy (1713), (Fullers House near Cyfarthfa Works), Fforest (1713) (Night fold), Gurnos (1713), Gru a wedd (1713), modern Grawerth meaning "Stud Farm". Pontygwaith (1713) (Works Bridge), Pontmorlais (1714) (Morlais Bridge), Pontycappel (1714) (Chapel Bridge), Abercanaid (1714) (Junction of Canaid with Taff), Gwmyglamais (1714). It is suggested that this name is a transposition of "Gamlais", a Canal, being the old Canal leading from the Cwm pit to Cyfarthfa Works, constructed in the early part of the seventeenth century.

Gwaelodygarth (1714), Carnol (1714), Llanvabon (1714), Carnaid Mill (1714) (Mill at Abercanaid or Canaid Brook), Cwm y glo (1714) (Coal Dingle). Cwm y glo Farm House was used by Dissenters when they left Blaencanaid Farm, in 1689. A chapel was subsequently built on land adjoining, and was granted by Captain David Jenkins, of Hensol; it was 36ft. in length and 18ft. in width and built in the form of a barn. Very little of the original building is now standing (see illustration). Pentrebach (1714), Penrynronen (1714) Penrhiwyrnen Farm (west of Troedyrhiw Ashtree Hill), Hendrefawr (1714) (The Old Great House), Werne (1714) (The Alders), Rhydycar (1715) (The Ford), of the Car Brook, but as there is no Brook in the neighbourhood probably the original name was Rhydygaer, as on top of the Aberdare Mountain. To the west is the Werfa Farm, which is a corruption of the word "Wersyllfa", the place of encampment. Penylan (1715) (Top of the enclosure), Trebedau (1715) (The place of graves), Clyndyrnos (1715) (Bramble Glen or Thicket), Grawerth (1716) (Stud Farm, or perhaps a corruption of Grawen=Garw Waen or Carw Waen). Heath Market (1717) (Wain Fair between Merthyr and Rhymney), Coed Meyrick (1716) (Meyrick's Wood), Llanditte (1717) (Llanddetty Breconshire), Penycraig (1718) (Top of the Rock), Bonyman in Garth (1718) (Base of the Rock), Panscallog (1717) (Thistle Hollow), Garth (1717), Goytrez (1718 Modern Goitre) (Woodland Village), Gellyr Taru (1718) (query Gellidderw correct spelling "Oak Grove", Gelli Tarw Farm Aberdare), Bedwellty (1718), Graig of Gellideg (1718), Llandaff (1720), Blaencanaid (1720) (Source of the Canaid). This farm house may be called the birthplace of Dissent; the date assigned for the first gathering of Dissenters at Blaencanaid is 1620. Services continued here until the year 1669, when the removal to Cwm y glo took place. Cwmddu (1722) (Black Dingle), Bedwas (1724), Rhudry (1727), Winstone super Avan (1739), Tai Maur (1741) (Great Houses), Troedyrhiw (1739) (Foot of the Steep), Rhydybedd (1742) The Grave Ford, or possibly "the Ford of the Boar" (*Baedd*), Garn Galed (The Hard Cairn), Wernlaes (1747) (Green Aldergrove),

Baglan (1745), Egwysilan (1747), Bedwellty (1751), Radyr (1751), Llwynkelyn (1758) (Holly Bush), Pwllyrhwyad (1753) (Ducks Pond), Llangynaider (1760), Crwck (1761) (Ty Cnw (the rounded house) on hill side above Troedyrhiw on western side of the Valley, now in ruins), Abergavenny (1762), Llanwairgaerwen Montgomeryshire (1761), Waun Willt (1761) (The Wild Meadow), Langattock (1762), Abervan (1761), (Junction of the Van with the Taff), Bryn Cae Owen (1762) (Owen's Field's Hill), Pontyrhun (1763) (Ash Trees Bridge) (? named after Rhun the brother of Tydfil), Begwins (1763) (The Beacons), Pendarren (1763), (Top of the Rock), Village (1763), Cwm Rhymi (1763), Pensilvania (1732) House and land now site of Pontmorlais Chapel, High Street, Merthyr, Ystradivodack (1754) Glamorganshire, Eglusilan (1755) (Glamorganshire), Llanwonner (1755) (Glamorganshire), Vaynor (1755) (Breconshire), Llandebye (1756) (Carmarthenshire), Ystrad-felly (p. 113) (Breconshire), Ystradvodack (Glamorganshire).

It is interesting to note the various methods of spelling the name Gelligaer especially having regard to the controversy which took place some years ago in which the Rector of Gelligaer, Canon T. J. Jones, contended that the syllable Celly was derived from "Cell", a cell, the Rev. Ll. M. Williams, then Rector of Dowlais, maintaining that the name was derived from "Gelli", a grove; and Caer, a fort. See also Powell's *Historie of Wales*, by H. Lloyd, pub. 1584—where there is a reference to the fight against the Normans at Gelligaer "Celli Tarvawe"; and Brut y Tywysogion in the *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales*, p. 702, where there is an account of the same battle "Celli Darfawe", and lower down on the same page "Celli Gaer".

Most of the above names relate either to the various hamlets in the Parish of Merthyr, or to farms. The English translation of the Welsh farm names (with cer-

tain exceptions) are taken from the late Mr. Charles Wilkins' *History of Merthyr*.

"The Fryars", according to Mr. Charles Wilkins, refers to a block of buildings at Caedraw, in the town of Merthyr, and the tradition is that in Pre-Reformation days a band of White Fryars were located there. Some houses in the locality are still known as "Isle of Wight", it is suggested that this also refers to the White Fryars. "The Court", formerly one of the possessions of the Lewises of the Van family; it has been suggested that "Court" is derived from the Latin "Cohort" due to the existence of a Roman Settlement at Merthyr. Brithdir (Parish of Gelligaer); according to Clark the descendants of Ivor Bach the Lewises of the Van had a residence at Brithdir, probably the ruined farmhouse situate about one and a half miles south of Fochriw, on the hill side.

Galon Uchaf (Merthyr)—it is suggested that this means Upper Colony, read "Colone" from Latin Colonia—in favour of that attribution we have the Roman Fort or Settlement at Penydarren Park, about a mile to the south of Galon Uchaf Farm house.

I wish to express my thanks to the Rev. Canon T. J. Jones, the Rector of Gelligaer, Glamorganshire, and to the Rev. Ll. M. Williams, the former Rector of Dowlais, for the valuable suggestions made by them after a perusal of the manuscript.

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APPENDIX.

FAIR COPY OF THE REV. NATHANIEL JONES' MS. (*circa* 1620)
FROM THE PARISH REGISTER, MERTHYR TYDFIL [1703-1763],
PAGES 87-90.

A.M.

Mr. Nathaniel Jones's usage in ye time of the Rebellion Register'd.

We have in and about the Parish of Merthyr Tydvill, a Company of men and women combin'd, and of a long time accustomed to have unlawful Conventicles, wherein they ordain and settle a Government as they please, contrarieing and contradicting the statutes and ordinances of severall parliaments. They have not only abolished and put down all manner of tiths, but are destroying the ancient fabrick of the material Church that is in the Parish, they will suffer no man to preach here, but one of their own sect, and others that plunder the Church, they have put in their lay Lecturers, they have taken out timber and stone belonging to the Church to build houses in the Churchyard; there is not a seat in ye Chancell but one, and that is not whole, nor any in the body of the Church undefaced; the minister's seat and three other are destroyed, ye desk that held the bible hath been Employed to carry mortar for their masons; they have brought horses into the Church, and put up hey in ye steeple, threescore horses have stood in the Church on ye marriage day of one of their preachers; one hundred horses have carried earth into ye Church ye floor whereof is half a yard higher than ye Chancell; where most of the prish have been buried.

1st. They have taken away timber, stone and the seats out of the Church, and they have putt in school-masters, whose boys have demolished so much lead, yt will not be made up wth four or five pounds, and if it be not made up the steeple is like to fall.

2ndly. They have taken ye Glasse, and putt on Lattice windows, the wch are now torn, and lost, some of the iron barrs are also gone.

3rdly. They have sold three bells for sixpence p pound,
N 2

or thereabouts, valued to be worth 14d or 16d, and there is but one bell left, without cope or implements.

4thly. The brethren have a meeting every Sunday in the Church, and frequently on week-days where they are discussing, disputing and settling businesses in an illegal and ungodly manner, and they do irreverently meet there to rate taxations and contributions, squabbling and falling out with irreverent behaviour, and scandalous words ill beseeing such a place.

5thly. They will not suffer the minister of the parish to preach in the Church because they will pay him no tiths; sometimes they have rung the Bells to disturb him, otherwhiles they have pulled him out of the pulpit, tearing his cloths and using violence; othertimes they have put somebody to preach in an ew-tree, when ye minister was in the pulpit in the church.

6thly. The people here will have neither prayer nor sacrament and especially the holy and allow'd prayers of the Church, and the sacrament at the hands of the minister. It is true that Mr. Jenkin Jones (did ?) monthly break¹ (bread?), which together with the wine is distributed among them (?) of the congregation. I am sure we have 500 men and women in the parish that receive not the Lord's Supper these ten years; very many children unbaptised; Mr. Jenkin Jones or Henry Williams w.¹² ye pulpit every Easter-day, at other times the people durst n(ot) receive nor bring their children to be christened.

7thly. The people were not suffered to hear their minister preaching w(ho)? (exercising diverse Sundays) was affronted and hindered by the anti-tith payers who understanding that some resorted to hear the minister, came one day to ye Church-yard and first sent some folish young fellows to interrupt the man being in the pulpit; they came trampling and trotting into the Church in a rude and uncomely manner; they stared and looked . . . (at ?) the preacher's face, as if they had been drunk or mad. When this would not do the multitude came not in, but sent one Richard Thomas to disturb the preacher, who asked him questions, being in the

¹ Omitted

² Illegible.

midst of his sermon, not suffering him to proceed and at last carried away the bible, which ye minister could never see nor have to this day. The people understanding that the minister was interrupted and that ye Church Bible was taken from him, did forbear coming any more to here him.

8thly. There is a hamlet in the parish, four or five miles from the Church, wch had a chappell yt was duely served by ye Curate of ye prish; this is now demolished and become a dwelling house in this hamlett, there and not above three or four of ye new congregation, and there is else about 50 house holders, who seldom come to Church, and with their families are in a sad condition; the body that is not daily nourished is drooping and faint, much more it may be said of the soul that is not (sic) fed, the spirit yt is not enlivened and quickened by ye soul-saving word of God is not transcendent and ascendeth not on high, but is earthly, sensuall, devilish where ye word of God is not preach'd the people perish; preach they cannot, unless they be sent, and teach they cannot what they never learnt.

9thly. What devotion can they have that have their tobacco pipes in their mouths, when they goe into the Church; and are sneezing tobacco in the Church when they come out after their Sermon, they are smoking in the Church-yard, going away, some to the Ale-house others to tobacco-houses, where you may see the bad fruit, and ill successe of the fair promising zeal of some, that make a better shew than the former fore—spoken and yt it may appear that many of their barrels have the same herring, they breakfast at home in the morning to destroy charity and devotion. A Sunday morning is no due time for a poor man to look almes, and the man of the house is too proud to stoop to beg his dayly bread, when his belly i(s) full, as soon as he is up on ye Lord's day.

10thly. I may not derogate from ye good intentions, or pious endeavours of any, God forbid me, yet men do often examine the cause by the effect, the kingdom of God is not in word but in power: 1 Cor. 4. 20. Christ and his apostles were as good as their word, they did not say one thing and do another, our Saviour had not a house to put his head in, St. Paul had no certain dwelling-place; when he preached unto

the people, he did not seek theirs, but them we preach not our-selves but Christ Jesus, ye Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' his sake: 2 Cor. 4, 5 & Chap. 11. 23. We will make the same proffession, with Xst and his apostles, preachers (not) hearers, we should be doers of the word and not hearers only, some (? say tha)t they follow our Saviour's precept, freely ye have received, freely (ye have given¹) the proposition; whatsoever they have received they give nothing; they are rich to make friends with the unrighteous mammon; the Apostles were thought to be fools for Christ his sake, but they are wise in Christ and St. Paul was poor but made many rich; they are rich by making many poor.

11thly. This parish doth challenge to be ye first and most reformed place of these countys, but when there is a sermon here there is no eating and drinking and taking tobacco in this village than in three of best townes in ye next shires. Here are three Alehouses that sell a halfe-penny cake for twopence a peece, and a pint of drink for a penny, these houses are full all day and some continue drinking all night, without fear or witt. When ye Ale-Wives are taxed herewith, they say they can buy five bushells in ye markt very near as cheap as they can buy three here, and they dare buy noe where else, than from their good masters, that preach and rule and do all at their pleasure.

12thly. To give a little more resemblance of ye principall agents in this business and to take a better view of their extortion, and cruelty, six of them were sent to London 1640, to prove their wicked inventions that they had proposed, heynous things, things not imagined nor thought upon, much lesse acted or done by me; I went up to answeare them to my great charge and losse; they did in a manner undoe me in six years by withholding my just right, and laying over great taxations upon me, and causing me to spend much; ffor they thought to eject me by their cunning and power that they had, and when they missed to doe soe by virtue of law and justice, they tooke authority to make laws themselves and thereby and by many force they have taken away my means, and left

¹ Mutilated.

me and my family very little; ffor hither they brought lecturers of all tribes and traders to intrude to the pulpitt, and to cease upon it three every Sunday of them did gather tiths from 40 in the parish for three yeares and say'd they were to pay them to Mr. Jenkin Jones, when he had disclaym'd privately and in ye pulpitt publickly declared that he had none, neither would have any but referr'd them to ye owner thereof.

13. The three men above sayd (viz) Richard Thomas William Howell and Howell Rees, took up these Tieths three years, and as I do heare gathered some others unto them and dispursed among them £100 of my money to tye them to be of their profession; the rest, which (I conceive to be as much more) they kept for themselves, the other parishioners by this example kept their tieths alsoe. Neverthelesse Richard Thomas (Sic) Parish Clerk, gave out rates wherein I was taxed to pay contribution all this while, and soldiers were sent from Cardiffe to levy this money supposed to be rated on ye tieths yt I had not, the collectors were driven to pay who had an order from the Quarter Session to receive this money from them that kept their tieths, by this order they sold and kept other tieths other yeares, that I was endamaged £40 in one yeare and as much more in after yeares, the tieth they yt sold, they sold for a trifle; the tieth that they kept they kept for nothing; I had no tieth at first and yet I was rated for them, and I never had an account for the tieth detained afterwards in lieu of sattisfaction for such rates or contributions.

14th. I have bin brought to debts by their meanes formerly, and they saw that I had a wife and seven children that could not help themselves, and I have spent ye coyne, plate, cattle and other goods left unto them and me for future maintenance, and yet their consciences give them leave nott only to detain our livlyhood themselves but to give them away to gain proselytes, I would they would consider the woes against scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites denounced by our Saviour in Matt. 23. A woe is repeated there four times (1) Because they did not shutt up ye kingdom of Heaven before men and (2) Because they devoure widows houses and (3) Because they did compasse sea and land to make more of the

proffession and (4) Because they had blind guides which say'd, whosoever swearth by the temple it is nothing, and I say I could wish that they would examine how near these woes are appliable unto them; I am sure a prophet might tell them, as Nathan sayd unto David, thou art the mann.

15thly. Wooll will grow after shearing, and haire will grow after polling and shaveing, but when ye skinne is scorched and burnt with ye flame, nothing will grow to cover ye carcassee. It was a hard cause yt a man of my charge must needs be in such a sad condition that lost the greatest part of my meanes 10 yeares leaving me noe relief nor help all the while. Yet if they had left me so I might have born it, but I may say as Hecuba sayd in Seneca's tragedies; *Troja jam vetus sat malum*; the conventiclors proceeded to act against me and to enact new ordnances by their own power by day and by night. In the former act their intention was to exempt them only that called themselves members of ye Church, butt very many of the rest play'd ye same part, in ye yeare 1649 all the parishioners detained their tieths, and about ye later end of September they putt foorth a new Statute:

1st. They abolished and abrogated all manner of tyeths and allowed me 2s. 2d. of every pound rent. This Lewis Williams being a principall agent in their rates and conventicles was pleased to call an allotment to ye parson of 2s. 2d. the pd. in lieu of tieths.

16. I never gave consent, much lesse repaire or come att any time to this confused and unlawful assembly but demanded ye tith and something I had of some of them, the which I receaved in pt of payment, and not in full and plenary satisfaction of any of 'em, tho'all that I had did not amount to halfe their allowance that year. I was driven to pay rates and taxations yt yeare to a great value. Notwithstanding the next yeare, about Michælmas, they had a second review, and tooke away 2d allow'd out of every pound in ye former allotment.

17. This was 1650 then they payd a great deal worser then before they had done, butt little coyne in both years, but comodities 3d or 4d in ye shillings dearer than in ye Markett,

yet for all this they are dumbe and deafe ; the 3d year (51) till December was past. In January they proceeded (*statu quo prius*) and appointed Collectors to-gether as aforesaid tho' they knew yt in this parish about yt time of ye yeare a groat is not so easily had as 12d in ye summer or autumn; The Collectors make an empty visit and returned a *Nil habes* ; Thus was I left, when there was noe fruite abroad, scarce and herb or a root to dine or sup with all.

They made since noe further provision for me, the best of 'em stand upon 2s. a pound still, And that, say they, they cannot pay, Because the contribution's are soe great ; I dare say that tho' I was never a delinquent ejected or sequestred, all yt I had these seaven yeares being putt together, will not make up 6d the pound of every pound in the parish.

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The English Element in the Perfeddwlad.

By T. P. ELLIS, M.A. (Oxon.),

Author of "The First Extent of Bromfield and Yale".

SOME misapprehension appears to exist regarding the extent to which the Welsh population of Northern Denbighshire was expropriated and its place taken by English immigrants as a result of the Edwardian Conquest.

It has been asserted that the population of the Vale of Clwyd is largely, if not mainly, of English descent, the Welsh inhabitants having been transplanted, hence an examination of the facts which appear in the Survey of Denbigh, a document prepared with meticulous care some fifty years after the death of Llewelyn, may be of interest as showing, at least approximately, what actually occurred in that part of the territory lying to the west of the Clwyd. Of the eastern or Flintshire portion of the valley we have no early record of the same nature.

The Perfeddwlad and the struggle for its domination played a large and important part in the early history of North Wales.

There is some ground for believing that it was settled or resettled in part in the time of Aneurin or Rhodri Mawr by Cymric immigrants brought in from Strathclyde. However that may be at the time of Domesday a very considerable portion of it was regarded as English territory and as attached to the County Palatine of Chester.

It had been ravaged and desolated by Harold in his invasion of Wales to such an extent that the country-side was little better than a howling wilderness, so much so that the number of ploughs the land could support, according to Domesday, was infinitesimal.

Between that date and the death of Llewelyn, the country under the rule of the Welsh princes of the restored line of Cunedda, recovered its prosperity and was repopulated by Welshmen.

As a result of the Edwardian Conquest the northern part of Denbighshire was formed into the Honour of Denbigh, and granted to a succession of Norman baronial families holding under the King.

In dealing with the Welsh tenants of the lordship the first fact to notice is that the holdings or the shares in the holdings of those who had fought for Llewelyn or in the subsequent risings to throw off the Norman yoke were escheated, and the manorial or maerdref rights, which were not extensive, of the old Princes passed into the hands of the new baronial overlords. In this way very considerable areas, or shares in areas, came into the possession of the new lords, and they were enabled thereby to change the system of tenure to some extent from a tribal and customary tenure to one by individuals paying cash-rents.

The escheated areas were scattered up and down the lordship; hardly a ville being free from some degree of forfeiture. On some of these forfeited lands Norman and English tenants were settled, and in some cases Welsh tenants were induced or compelled to exchange such of their lands as had not been escheated, and submit to transplantation on to the escheated lands of other tribesmen in other portions of the lordship, the transplantation being generally from the east to the west of the lordship.

In this way some viles passed entirely into the lord's hands enabling him to create 'blocks' of non-tribal territory. It was much more the aim of the lord, for political and economic reasons, to create cash-tenures and individual holdings than to expropriate the Welsh tenants as a whole, so it by no means followed that all escheated lands, or even all the consolidated blocks of non-tribal territory, were settled with tenants from over the border. The Survey of Denbigh enables us to determine partially to what extent there was an introduction of a foreign element and to what extent the country remained Welsh.

The Honour of Denbigh consisted of five cymwds, Rhos Uwchdulas, Rhos Isdulas, Rhufoniog Uwchaled, Rhufoniog Isaled and Cymeirch.

The largest of all these cymwds was Uwchdulas, but its actual area is not given in the Survey, though it could not be less than 30,000 acres.

Uwchdulas remained in the hands of Welshmen, whether the old owners or transplantees, practically entirely. Attempts were made to establish boroughs at Llanrwst and Erethlyn. The latter was entirely Welsh, and in the former the Survey mentions only two Englishmen as burgesses, one of whom was also a resident in Cymeirch, who between them held only four burgage tenements and five acres of land.

Throughout the rest of this cymwd, which includes within its limits the extremely fertile valley of the Conway and a strip of excellent land near the sea, there were no English settlers in so far as the Survey of Denbigh shows. To the north of the cymwd the ville of Llysfaen, which originally belonged to and still forms part of Carnarvonshire, being detached from the main body of the county, passed for a time into the Honour of Denbigh with the ville of Penmaen. In Llysfaen there

were four Englishmen, one of whom held elsewhere, who between them held 108 acres, so that in this cymwd there were only four English settlers, not accounted for elsewhere, and the total area of land in English occupation was less than 120 acres.

The cymwd of Isdulas, which includes the whole of the north-western part of the vale of Clwyd and some first-class land, contained rather more than 13,000 acres, divided among some 21 villes or hamlets, the largest of which was Abergele, and the smallest Hendre. In only five of these settlements were any English or Norman tenants located. In the very important ville of Wigfair one English tenant, who also held in Cymeirch, received 10 acres. In Dinorbryn Fawr three (two of whom held also in Cymeirch) held eight acres between them; in Hendregyda six, two of whom held elsewhere, were possessed of 42 acres, and in Cegidog one Englishman and one Englishwoman, of whom the first-named held also in Cymeirch, held nine acres in all.

The only ville in which there was any appreciable English settlement was Abergele. Here an important borough was created, and among the burgesses there were 19 who bear non-Welsh names, seven of whom were landholders elsewhere. In addition to them a few other English holders of land, all but two being holders elsewhere, are mentioned. Between them these immigrants held 213 acres only out of 3,832 acres with of course some rights in the common pasture-lands.

In the cymwd of Isdulas, therefore, the English element was to all intents and purposes negligible. Excluding those accounted for elsewhere there were 20 Englishmen, and the non-Welsh area was 282 acres, held mainly in the ville of Abergele.

In Uwchaled, which contains some 17,500 acres, with

the exception of one ville. practically the same characteristics prevailed.

In that cymwd there were 22 viles, and in 19 of them there were no English tenants at all. In Deunant one Englishman, who also held land in Cymeirch, held two acres, and in Grugor the same tenant and two other Englishmen, one of whom also held in Cymeirch, held between them $22\frac{1}{2}$ acres out of some 870.

Archwedlog, a village of 566 acres, was treated quite differently. It had belonged in ancient times to two Welsh clans. A portion of their lands was escheated and they were expropriated from the whole of the remainder, being given land in lieu in other viles.

Adjoining was the hamlet of Hafodraeth, which had apparently been the summer grazing ground of the old inhabitants of Lleweni, which, as we will see later, had become Anglicized. This hamlet, together with some 12 acres transferred from the neighbouring village of Chwilbren, was included in the new area of Archwedlog, thus creating a 'block' of 984 acres at the disposal of the lord.

Out of these lands about 480 acres were allotted to the burgesses of Denbigh, who were entirely English, probably as a summer pasture ground for their cattle, 310 acres were allotted to ten English tenants for the purpose of cattle-breeding on a special tenure, and 182 acres for cultivation to those ten and two others, six of whom also appear as holding land elsewhere.

Thus in this cymwd rather less than 1,000 acres out of 17,500 passed out of the hands of the old Welsh tenants to English tenants, and these in the main in one ville. Excluding the Denbigh burgesses, who are accounted for elsewhere, the total English land-holding population of the cymwd, not holding land elsewhere, was seven.

In the remaining cymwds, which occupy the northern and middle portion of the Vale of Clwyd, a more extensive immigration occurred.

Isaled contained nearly 26,000 acres of land divided among some 23 viles and hamlets of varying sizes from the gigantic ville of Prees with its 8,878 acres, in the grazing grounds of which all the Welsh tenants of the lordship had some rights, down to the minute ville of Le Graba with its 94 acres.

In most of these viles some English or Norman settlers are to be found. No English settlers are to be found in Llechred (450 acres), Carwedfynydd (1,815 acres), Dinas Cadfel (263 acres) Penporchell (1,048 acres) and Twysog (733 acres).

In some of the others the English element was negligible. In Taldragh (365 acres) one Englishman held three acres; in Nantglyn Cynan out of 564 acres 18 only had been held by a single Englishman, who however had surrendered the land to a Welshman in exchange; in Nantglyn Sanctorum, the area of which is not given, one Englishman held some 10 acres, and in Prees three acres only out of 8,878 were held by one Englishman.

In a few other viles the area held by Englishmen was more considerable.

In Eriviat (area 2,465 acres) out of an escheated area of 1,483 acres part was allotted to transplanted tribesmen and some Welsh cash-tenants, and 243 acres were tenanted by 26 Englishmen, of whom 11 held elsewhere. In Bodeiliog (176 acres) six Englishmen received 54 acres; in Bodiscawn 96 acres out of 722 were held by eight Englishmen; and in Talabryn 231 acres out of 560 went to 23 Englishmen, of whom ten had land elsewhere.

In the neighbourhood of Denbigh a large block of mainly Anglicized territory was created. Denbigh itself

contained some 818 acres. In the time of the princes it was held by unfree tenants, one third of whose holdings was escheated, and from the remaining two thirds they were expropriated under the euphemism of 'exchange'. The area was devoted mainly to the castle and its parks, a minute area was occupied by the borough, whose burgesses were given land in Lleweni, and only some 42 acres were arrented to eight English tenants, three of whom are included in the Cymeirch land-holders.

There were a few Welshmen in Denbigh, but they do not appear to have held land, and for all practical purposes Denbigh became an English settlement grouped round the lord's castle.

There was little land available there after the great parks had been created, and the English colony of Denbigh received lands in Lleweni.

Lleweni contained some 4,559 acres, and with the exception of 187 acres held in 1334 A.D. by Welshmen, the whole of the ville was escheated or 'exchanged'. Of the escheated or exchanged area 56 acres were held by Welshmen and the remaining 4,316 acres were allotted to some 175 persons with English or Norman names, of whom 43 held land elsewhere.

It is perhaps of passing interest to note that in this, the most extensive English settlement in Denbigh, some of these settlers later identified themselves entirely with Welsh interests, became in fact thoroughly Welsh. It will suffice to note the names of the Salusburys, one of which family added lustre to his name and did service to Wales by his translation of the Bible into Welsh. There was Alice the wife of Thomas Salusbury, who held ten acres of land, Henry the son of Adam Salusbury who had four acres, and John Salusbury, who held about 25 acres.

For all practical purposes the large ville of Lleweni

became a Norman-English settlement, and some other villes in the neighbourhood of Denbigh shared a like fate.

The ville of Berain (737 acres) came by escheat or exchange entirely into the lord's hands, and with the exception of four acres held by a Welsh tenant, 647 acres were arrented to twenty-three English tenants, of whom seven held elsewhere, the rest lying vacant.

Le Graba (94 acres), which in the time of the Welsh princes was unreclaimed woodland, was partly de-afforested, and 65 acres were arrented to five Englishmen, two of whom held elsewhere. Bronskip (120 acres), a small *nativus ville*, was escheated entirely and 115 acres leased to English tenants, all but two of whom also had land in other villes.

Gwaenynog, which consisted of two parts, Cynan and Wyntus, containing 238 and 137 acres respectively, gave shelter to twenty-two Englishmen, nine of whom had other lands, 25 acres only remaining in Welsh hands.

Galltfaenan, a ville of 390 acres, was partly Anglicized, 252 acres were escheated, and 248 acres were occupied by eight English tenants, six of whom had other lands as well in Cymeirch or Isaled.

The remaining area was held by Welshmen.

The last ville to notice in the *cymwd* is Ystrad Cynan. This ville, which contained 574 acres, was exchanged or escheated in its entirety. 142 acres were allotted to nineteen English tenants, of whom fourteen are accounted for elsewhere, and the rest of the area was included in the demesne of Denbigh or Kilford or arrented there.

It would appear, therefore, that in so far as Isaled was concerned some fertile lands in the centre of the Clwyd valley was formed into an Anglicized block with Denbigh in the middle of it. Elsewhere the *cymwd* remained mainly in Welsh hands. Out of some 26,000 acres 6,561

acres were arrented to Englishmen numbering altogether 223, seven out of every nine of whom lived in Lleweni.

The Welsh population it is not possible to estimate accurately, owing to the system of scattered tribal holdings, but some 559 names of men, who held land in this cymwd exclusively, appear.

These figures do not include the nativi tenants of the free population, but it may be said with a certain degree of definiteness that about one quarter of the lands of Isaled was held by English tenants, who numbered not more than two-sevenths of the population, such two-sevenths being grouped in a fairly compact and isolated block.

In Cymeirch much the same thing happened. This cymwd contained 11,000 acres, divided among some nineteen viles and hamlets. In seventeen of these English tenants to varying extents were settled, and two only, Brynlluar (222 acres) and Caeserwydd (158 acres) remained in Welsh hands exclusively.

In some viles the English element was negligible.

In Llwyn (137 acres) one-eighth of the vile only was escheat and was leased to an English tenant who also had land in Lleweni and elsewhere. The rest of the vile was held by Welsh priodorian.

In Prion (1,208 acres) threetwenty-fifths were escheated. Only $26\frac{1}{2}$ acres were arrented to five Englishmen, one of whom also held in Llewesog, the rest being arrented to Welshmen or reserved as village pasture land.

In Postu (1,010 acres) rather more than one-third of the vile was escheated, but only two acres were held by an Englishman, who resided in Gyffiliog.

Ystrad Owain (294 acres) was in the time of the princes a 'maerdref' or manor of the prince, in which a few unfree tenants also had holdings. The tenants seem

to have taken no part in the risings as no escheats are recorded. The few cottiers were, however, transplanted to Segrwyd and Llewesog, and with the exception of four to five acres granted in demesne to a Franco-Norman, the rest of the area was cultivated or pastured as before, but was included in the new manor of Kilford. No information is given as to the nationality of the cultivators, but it seems most probable that the old maerdref-tenants continued to cultivate on an insecure tenure.

Kilford (617 acres) was held in the time of the Welsh princes by unfree tenants, who also owned Postu and Gyffyllog. Some two-thirds of the area of Kilford were escheated and the tenants of the remainder were transplanted on to the escheated lands in Postu. Kilford became thereby entirely lord's demesne, cultivated or pastured as a home-farm along with the transferred area of Ystrad Owain. Two English tenants were granted secured tenure of 40 acres in bovates on cash-rents, and some 50 acres were held in plots by those two and five other Englishmen as tenants-at will. The nationality of the cultivators of the home-farm is not given, but it seems probable that there was a mixed population of paid labourers, mostly consisting of dispossessed Welshmen.

Gyffiliog, a small ville of 128 acres only, was entirely escheated. 92 acres were granted to two English castleward tenants holding elsewhere, 12 to the same two on cash-rents, 14 to a third Englishman, who also held elsewhere, and 10 acres grass-land were accorded to them for free herbage.

Segrwyd, with its adjacent hamlets of Gader, Pemmaen and Gasyth, contained 2,650 acres. With the exception of one half of Gasyth the villes had been held jointly by *nativi*. Out of the whole area 1,209 acres were escheat, part of which was left in the ville of Segrwyd, and the

rest included within the limits of Segrwyd Park, which also seems to have included some areas transferred from other villes, especially Garth, 242 acres out of a total of 367 being transferred, the tribal owners being removed to Caeserwydd, and 72 acres let to English tenants who, with the area held by them, are accounted for in Segrwyd proper.

In Segrwyd proper 232 acres were held on cash-rents by fourteen Englishmen, one of whom held also in Kilford, and in Segrwyd Park a large English settlement of sixty-four new tenants and seven holders in Segrwyd was planted on 926 acres.

Cernyfed (636 acres) was originally unreclaimed forest land.

Part of it was de-afforested, some 52 acres being held by a Welsh tenant and 364 by twenty-two Englishmen, two of whom have been already accounted for.

Five other villes remain, in which the English and Welsh populations were more or less balanced.

Brynabgle (427 acres), and formerly a part of Prion, was entirely escheated and made a cattle breeding centre. 300 acres were held for pasture by five Englishmen and the rest by four Welshmen.

Isceibion (847 acres) was also entirely escheated or 'exchanged'. Twenty-six new English tenants and six who held land elsewhere were settled on 350 acres, forty-five Welsh tenants being located on an approximately equal area, the rest becoming herbage land.

In Bachymbyd 528 out of 840 acres were escheated, the balance being held by the old Welsh priodorian. Twenty-six English tenants, including fourteen from Isceibion and elsewhere, were settled on 475 acres, the balance of the 528 acres being allotted to Welsh tenants or for herbage.

Llewesog had 296 acres out of 478 escheated; 156

were arrented to eight Englishmen including two from Isceibion, the rest was left to the old priodorian or allocated to Welsh transferees.

Lughern, a ville of 145 acres only, suffered escheat to the extent of nine-sixteenths, of which 55 acres went to seven Englishmen, all of whom had other lands. The rest of the ville was Welsh.

In Cymeirch, therefore, out of a total acreage of nearly 11,000 acres, 3,126 were allotted to 158 English tenants, not accounted for in Isaled, and something like 1,700 acres were reserved for demesne and woodland.

The number of Welsh tenants cannot be determined with complete accuracy, but the total appears to have been about 185, so that it may be stated that in population Cymeirch was rather less than half-Anglicized, the major portion of the English population being centred in Segrwyd, Isceibion and Cernyfed, while in area, excluding the demesne, rather less than one-third passed into English lands.

Taking the whole of the lordship, 10,979 acres out of 97,500 passed to Englishmen, numbering in all 412 landholders.

Some of these landowners were women, they also include fathers and sons holding separately, but if we allow each landholder to represent a family of four, the result is an English population of some 1,650 persons, mostly concentrated in the valley, not of the Clwyd, but of the Ystrad.

The Welsh population cannot be estimated in quite the same way, owing to the scattered nature of the tribal holdings, and the difficulty in determining whether a person enumerated in one ville has been enumerated in another. Allowing, however, for errors in computation the Welsh population of the lordship seems to have been slightly in excess of 10,000 men, women and children.

The apportionment of families of four to each recorded land-holder may, no doubt, be excessive, and the total population, English and Welsh, be estimated at too high a figure; but the cardinal fact remains that not more than fifteen per cent, of the population of the Honour of Denbigh was English or Norman in 1334 A.D.

In the above résumé no account of the estates of the Church has been taken. The *Llyfr Coch Asaph* has unfortunately been lost to us, but if we may consider the evidence of its Index, in so far as it throws light on the subject, and the comparable evidence as to what took place in the Bangor diocese, it seems improbable that there was any noteworthy admixture of English immigrants with the Welsh population on Church lands.

Some Letters of Thomas Johnes of Hafod (1794-1807).

Selected from the Cumberland Papers, British Museum,
Add. MSS. 36491—36516.,

By HERBERT M. VAUGHAN, M.A., F.S.A.

UNDER the title of "The Hafod Press and Colonel Thomas Johnes" there is included in the *Transactions* of this Honourable Society, for 1911-12, a monograph by me on the story of the Hafod Press and its translations from the old French chroniclers. In this article I propose to give some further letters of Colonel Thomas Johnes, selected from the Cumberland Papers in the British Museum (*Additional MSS.* 36491-36516), since they throw a good deal of light not only on the personality of Johnes himself but on the growth of Hafod and its surroundings. The many allusions to farming, politics, and other local matters, also make interesting reading. All these letters are addressed to Johnes' friend, George Cumberland, whose correspondence was deposited, in 1849, in the British Museum, on condition that it was not thrown open to the public till the year 1900. I shall, however, start my account with a letter from Johnes to the celebrated agriculturist and traveller, Arthur Young, the Suffolk squire and farmer, whose "Travels in France", both before and after the French Revolution, has long become a classic. This letter is to be found in *Add. MSS.*, 35128, f. 160.

“Hafod, April 15, 1799.

Dear Sir,—As this was the usual time our Society of Agriculture [of Cardiganshire] published their annual report, I trouble you with this to account why you have not received one according to my promise.

This county has had a very severe loss in the sudden death of our very worthy secretary, the Revd. Mr. Turnor, and I have lost a very sincere friend. In his last letter to me he complained much of the non-attendance and non-payment of the members: I very much fear this favourite child of mine, which he so kindly nursed, will not succeed as I have ever wished it. However, no exertions of mine shall be wanting for its support.

Ever since I last saw you I have been at this place attending the long illness of an only child [Miss Mariamne Johnes]. Thank God, notwithstanding the very great variety of this winter, we have now a fair prospect of her recovery. My chief amusement has been my farm and planting, and should you ever make an Excursion near this county, I shall be very happy to show you both. Much has been done but more remains.

Should any of your friends want to purchase a very magnificent place, I have such to dispose of. It is called Croft Castle: 5 miles from Leominster and 7 from Ludlow. The Castle is in excellent repair and fit for the possession of a large family directly. The demesne is near 1400 acres, and has upwards of £20,000 of the finest timber in England. Two advowsons, and two manors. Possession may immediately be had; £20,000 may remain on mortgage.

This has been a very hard winter upon us mountain farmers; the losses among the sheep and lambs are very great indeed. I know not when to expect an end of it, for it snows and hails as fast as if it was the middle of December instead of April.

I am, dear Sir, Your very obedient, humble servant,

T. JOHNES.”

The Reverend David Turnor, honorary secretary of the Cardiganshire Agricultural Society, had died on March 7th, 1799. He was the son of “Honest Lewis Turnor” of Crugmore, in the parish of Llangoedmor, and at the time of his death was vicar of Penbryn in Cardiganshire and rector of Manordeifi in Pembrokeshire. The Turnors were evidently well-known personally to Sir S. R. Meyrick, for he gives a very full account of this family in his

County History, pp. 226-229 under "Wervilbrook", and also in his account of Llangoedmor parish, pp. 114-118. Crugmore, a corrupted form of Crûg Mawr, now a farmhouse, is situated below the Crûg Mawr two miles above Cardigan, near the Aberystwyth road. Wervilbrook, the later residence of the Turnor family, stands near the high road above New Inn, in the parish of Llangranog.

Croft Castle, in Herefordshire, was Thomas Johnes's own property by right of his mother, Elizabeth Knight, the wife of Thomas Johnes, M.P., and daughter and heiress of Richard Knight, of Croft Castle.

The remaining letters are all addressed to George Cumberland, of Bristol, the author of "An Attempt to describe Hafod", published in London, 1796.

"Hafod, Monday (Spring of 1794?).

. I am hard at work on old Froissart, and think I shall have the first volume ready for the press by Christmas, but every fine day I cannot remain at home, as I am anxious to see my Garden and Farm. By the bye, my friend Dr. Anderson has been very busy in making a garden for my little girl, that is something in the pensile manner of gardening, that we have heard so much of in Semiramis' time. It will be very beautiful and very surprising. I am beginning this day on a new walk to it, and shall probably set about in the summer the walk of the river above the stone bridge, which so much pleased you. I must also change the walk on the *Mill Brook*, to make it correspond with your description. We have had such continuance of rain that I am all cascades, but this morning it is a very sharp frost; my fruit trees are in flower, so I dread the consequences. The *Strelitzia* is also in flower, and most beautiful".

Dr. Anderson is probably James Anderson, LL.D., of Aberdeen (1739-1808), a Scotch agriculturist and writer on politics.

"Miss Johnes's Garden" is still in existence at Hafod. The allusion to the "pensile manner of gardening" must refer to the "hanging gardens of Babylon" of antiquity.

The *Strelitzia Reginae*, or Queen Flower, had recently been introduced into this country from the Cape by Sir Joseph Banks. It is a tall, sub-tropical plant, closely related to the banana, with superb flame-coloured blossoms having dark blue stamens. No doubt it was a treasured object in that "conservatory one hundred and sixty feet in length, filled with rare and curious exotics, with a walk down the centre", which so enchanted Sir Samuel Meyrick on visiting Hafod.

"Hafod, July 28th, 1794.

Sir,—You have shown so much partiality to the Country round the Devil's Bridge, that I shall make no apology for troubling you with this letter.

It is to inform you that within these few days an apparently valuable mineral spring has been discovered close by the Devil's bridge. It seems to be a very strong Chalebeate; as you may wish to taste some of it, I have ordered a small bottle of it to be sent by the Coach directed to you to the care of Mr. Edwards in Pall Mall, and I shall write to him this post to desire he would forward it to you. If future Tunbridges or Cheltenhamms should arise there, I trust that the beauties of Nature are of features too grand for any ornaments of art to have other effects than to make the old Lady appear more beautiful.

Indeed, I am anxious to show you, who have seen this place in its original wildness, that by beautifying it, I have neither shorn or tormented it. I shall remain here from my Regiment as long as I can".

"Hafod, Monday. (Spring of 1796.)

. I have long thought of the Druidical Temple for your famous Knoll, and this last winter I accidentally met Mr. Harrison, the Architect, whom I had long wanted to see, and desired him to make his remarks on whatever Druidical Temples he should and give me a Sketch of one. I understand from him that I can have Stones of any size from the Quarries on the Mersey. Upright stones will be all we shall want, for our Flat Slates are to be had very large to cover it. I should imagine ten or twelve very large Upright Blocks would be sufficient.

I have formed a new walk to Dr. Anderson's pensile garden; it will be very different from all I have; and in the course of the summer shall make out the walk up the River. I have already

marked the line it must take ; that will be the first thing I have, especially when the planting (if I can undertake it) is finished next winter.”

Thomas Harrison (1744-1829) was a popular architect of his day. His best work is the Grosvenor Bridge over the Dee, near Chester. He also erected the (now ruined) George III. Jubilee Memorial on Moel Vammau, and the obelisks to Lord Hill at Shrewsbury and to Lord Anglesey at Plâs Newydd.

“Hafod, June 17, 1796.

“I should sooner have thanked you for yours of the 27th May, had I not been in a continued bustle. Loveden seems to have completely done for himself. He has lost his own seat, and by his crooked politics has enabled two to gain seats which he was most anxious to keep out. He was indifferent who came in for this County and Town, provided Mr. Vaughan and myself were excluded. No county ever behaved more handsomely nor has anyone ever received more personal marks of attachment, which as long as I retain, he may vent his malice, but can never carry it into effect. No one ever took less pains for a seat in Parliament than myself, and had I not been so honourably called on, I should have remained here in quiet planting my Cabbages. Nor has any Election cost so little, considering there was a sort of Contest; a very few hundreds will pay for all. My opponent does not come off so cheap. But of this more, when we meet. I shall hold my Parliament here for I told my friends I thought I might be more useful to the County at Hafod than at Westminster

You will be surprised when I tell you there are two diligences as I hear coming to the Devil's bridge and Aberystwyth from Leominster and Ludlow by different roads. We shall be *genteel*, but *ware necks*, for I should think the passengers underwent a service of danger.”

Colonel Thomas Johnes had previously been M.P. for Radnorshire since 1780; from this election of 1796 he continued to represent Cardiganshire till his death in 1816.

“Loveden” is Pryse Loveden, of Gogerddan and of Buscot Park, Berkshire. He was the son and heir of

Edward Loveden of Buscot, by his wife, Margaret Pryse, heiress of Gogerddan. On his mother's death in 1798 he assumed the name and arms of Pryse and was grandfather of the late Sir Pryse Pryse, created a Baronet in 1866. Subsequently, he became M.P. for Cardigan Borough in 1818 and sat as member till his demise in 1849.

“Vaughan” refers to the Hon. John Vaughan of Crosswood, half-brother of the second Earl of Lisburne, whom he succeeded as third earl in 1820. He sat as M.P. for Cardigan Borough from 1796 till 1818.

George Cumberland must evidently have expressed some wish or intention to purchase an estate and settle in Wales, for in another letter Johnes recommends his friend to buy a small estate of his own, Penybank, near Abergwili.—“There is much wood on Penybank Farm, and a fine Situation for a House”

And again,—“Dr. Anderson is wild about the neighbourhood of Carmarthen, and says he never knew such a situation for Trade, on a fine tidal navigable river, and a beautiful plentiful Country with Coal and Lime round about. He says it does not at present know its own value, but in time must find it.”

Penybank, then the property of Thomas Johnes, was a farm situated on the western shoulder of Merlin's Hill, above Abergwili and about two miles from Carmarthen. Penybank subsequently became the property of the Morris family, of Morris's Bank, Carmarthen. The late Thomas Charles Morris, banker, about 1858 built the present mansion of Bryn Myrddin on this very farm and on a site that commands a splendid view up the vale of Towy.

“Hafod, March 25th, 1798.

. Hafod flourishes, my dear Sir, in spite of these eventful times, and added to these are domestic misfortunes, for

our dear girl has been ill these 18 months with a curvature of the spine. We have been in very great distress, and have remained with her ever since last May. Thank God, at present we again indulge our hopes, and look forward to warmer weather with the greatest anxiety. As she is certainly much better within the last two months, I am indifferent to other plagues. I should then more sensibly feel my Mother's conduct, who urged on by her advisers was endeavouring to pillage me as much as possible; and perhaps also I should be more sensible of the present dangerous state of publick affairs

I have been long planting and pruning; by to-morrow I shall have planted upwards of 600,000 Trees this season. I am more and more attached here, and only wish to possess my wife and child, and then never to move from hence, for I am quite sick of Public Affairs in every sense of them.

I find the days too short, for what with farming, planting, and reading, etc., I have more employment than I have time for."

"Hafod, Sept. 8th, 1799.

. . . . We have had the pleasure of seeing your Brother here, but I could not keep him longer than a day. We mixed farming with Picturesque; of course saw neither well. He seemed very much delighted, & what flattered me much paid me many compliments as to my Farming, Stock, etc. This from a Gloucestershire man was very pleasing indeed".

"Hafod, Jany. 30th, 1800.

. . . . I have recommenced my translation of old Froissart with the ardour of renewed Love. It will be the better for having lain by, as I take now much more pains, and begin to hope it may be valuable. I only mention this. as you will judge from it that I think my girl in a fair way, otherwise my attentions would have been occupied by her illness; that swallowed up everything else".

The first of the four quarto volumes of Sir John Froissart's "*Chronicles*" was printed and published at the Hafod Press in 1803.

"Hafod, March 9th, 1800.

. I hate as much copying as you can, and therefore give it up. God help the Printer! for if he decyphers some of my blots, I shall advise him next to attempt the Hieroglyphicks in Egypt, etc. I ought to tell you that I should never have

undertaken so very laborious and considerable a work as a new Translation of Froissart, if I had not been urged on by the partiality of three persons whose judgment I have a high opinion of, as well as of their Honesty. I hope therefore the public will be pleased. Had I however foreseen the great difficulty I should have had, my Laziness, which is in the extreme, would have shunned it with horror. My girl's illness made me not think of it. Her good appearance brought back other ideas, and I hope I am now fixed to the collar, until I shall have finished by Christmas twelvemonth. As I have returned to the old Gentleman *con amore*, I shall thank you to write to Mr. Fagan for any manuscripts that relate to the history of the 14th century, and if there is any fine collection of books or of drawings, I should like to add them to my beauties here.

I have now been so long quiet, that I do not think I shall be tempted to leave it for the bustle of a town; nor do I envy any of our *soi-disant* great men. There are pursuits for all ages. I have had my share of Gaieties, and it is time to retire; not like a Misanthrope, but with a desire to do as much good as possible."

Robert Fagan (d. 1816) was a well-known connoisseur and collector of his day. His collection of pictures was sold to William Beckford, and by Beckford to Mr. Hart Davis, of Cardigan Priory. It was ultimately bought by Mr. Miles, of Leigh Court, near Bristol.

"Jany. 19th, 1801.

. . . . You will not repent turning farmer; at least I know from experience that it has been the saving of me, for my farm turns out a very sincere friend.

"We have completely succeeded in making Parmesan!!!! Come and taste it".

". . . . I will give you a copy of my "Advice to Tenants", which I have had translated into Welsh to give to those deserving among them. Your copy will be in English, & contains all our Dairy receipts, which are valuable as having *all* succeeded".

This refers to Johnes's "A Cardiganshire Landlord's Advice to his tenants", an octavo volume of 134 pages, that had been printed by Biggs and Cottell, of Bristol, in 1800. It is a fairly common book; but the later edition

printed at the Hafod Press is exceedingly scarce, and of this I have only seen one copy, in the library of Principal J. H. Davies. The Welsh version, "Cynghorion Priodur o Garedigion etc.", was the work of Dr. Owen Pughe, and was published by S. Rousseau in London in the same year. (See "The Hafod Press and Colonel Thomas Johnes": *Transactions of the Hon. Society of Cymmrodorion*, Session 1911-1912).

"Dec. 3rd, 1801.

. My Dairy has answered very well. I have sold 1200 lbs. of Butter at 8d., and four Tons of Cheese at 6d., after having kept a sufficiency for the House and School. Next year I propose having near a Hundred Cows, if I can get money to buy them. We mean to have a Winter dairy this year as a trial. If it succeeds, as I think it must, I will never suffer a cow to be out of the House, except during right in the summer time."

Hafod, Sept. 12th, 1803.

. A farmer's life is a laborious one, and unless it is constantly attended to, must fail. This I know from myself, and always endeavour to reduce things as much as possible to a certainty. Yet in spite of all, disappointments will arise, & the doctrine in law *qui facit per alterum facit per se* may be good there; it is the reverse in farming. My farm is but now beginning to repay, for at this moment I am not half stocked with sheep. I imported last year 40 Heifers from Holland, and we made near 5 Tons of the finest Gloucester, Cheshire, Stilton, & Cheddar Cheeses, not one drop of cream taken from them, but we could not get a market anywhere, for I tried all places in vain; and now we have 2500 lbs., and sell them to the workmen at 5d. and 6d. per lb. . . ."

"Clifton. June 21st, 1802.

. I have found you a companion for Plinlimmon, that you will thank me for: an excellent man & scholar, and as great an enthusiast for his own country as you are. He writes, speaks and reads Welsh, Greek, Latin, Italian & French. He is to be in Cardiganshire the latter end of next month, and you may fix with him to meet you at Hafod, any time *but the Cardigan Assize week*, from whence you may undertake your Pilgrimage. This Gentleman is D. Jones of Redlands".

I think "D. Jones of Redlands" can only refer to David Jones of Llandoverly, "the Welsh Freeholder", scholar and Unitarian minister. After graduating at Caius College, Cambridge, David Jones had been called to the bar, and was in the habit of going circuit in South Wales, so presumably he was visiting Cardigan at this assize in his capacity of barrister. I can however find no reference to his residing at Redlands.

Sept. 24th, 1805.

. I have thrown my Swing Bridge over the river (Ystwyth), & it answers my expectations. I have likewise added a fine painted window to the church, and shall erect the Obelisk as soon as the workmen come. They were to have been here yesterday se'nnight.

We have had a miserable season, scarce two dry days together; how the corn has been got in is somewhat miraculous. Mrs. Johnes and our girl have both been ailing, & the first is now not well.

Aberystwyth has literally overflowed; people have been forced to sleep in carriages. They are going to erect a Theatre, and a self-appointed Master of the Ceremonies of the tribe of Levy means to commence his operations of Coupée & Borrée next summer. A mail coach runs once a week from Ludlow, and you will see on the corner of this we have a post-office at the devil's bridge. I never remember so many *curious* travellers as this year.

Mariamne is making great improvement in her drawing, under an old acquaintance of yours, Stothard, who is now here. He is very deaf, and, as the Scots say, colded".

This fine painted window of ancient Flemish stained glass still adorns the little parish church of Eglwys Newydd, close to Hafod. Perhaps in this connection it may be well to mention here the tradition that Thomas Johnes was responsible for the removal of a stained glass window in the Priory church of Cardigan, which he set up at Hafod, where it perished ultimately in the fire of 1807. Possibly his erection of this Flemish glass at Eglwys Newydd, combined with Sir S. R. Meyrick's account of a painted window in the mansion of Hafod

(which from the detailed description seems also to have been a purchase abroad) may have given rise to this absurd legend, for which there is not a tittle of evidence.

Thomas Stothard (1755-1834), painter and illustrator, was a popular artist in his day, and was patronised by Johnes, Beckford, and other persons of taste and wealth. In 1810 he decorated the Library of the new house at Hafod with designs taken from the Chronicles of Froissart and Monstrelet. He is also credited with the original sketch for Chantrey's superb monument in Eglwys Newydd church, erected in memory of Mariamne Johnes, who died in 1811.

"Feby. 9th, 1806.

. I have seen so much of the *real* face of mankind within the last two or three years, that I look on all, or at least the greater part as Sharks, & think myself fortunate when they do not quite devour me, but are content with a good Collop. What with false & professing friends & determined enemies, I have been miraculously saved from Ruin, and shall have an ample sufficiency in spite of them, both for Ourselves and Child; but all this will not make me the less desirous of obtruding my person, nor more anxious to see the human face divine. What I have witnessed, *et quorum pars magna fui*, has formed my opinion that this world is a state of warfare, and that Man is *animal pugnax*, who sooner than not do mischief will tear his professed friend to pieces. Don't think I grow misanthropical; my nature will not allow it, but I wish for as little communication as may be with my fellow animals."

Johnes must have changed something of his dismal views and his belief in Hobbes's maxim of a state of war in Nature, for a fortnight later he can write to Cumberland:

"Do not be afraid, my dear Sir. It is not in my nature to turn misanthrope. I may perhaps growl now and then, when such flagrant instances of ingratitude & roguery as I have met with appear; but the storm is soon over, and the Milkiness of human nature returns."

Sept. 15th, 1806.

. I have let out the farm I had in hand satisfactorily, & been working into shape a beautiful but ill-licked Cub of two thousand acres, that will amply repay in beauty and profit within a few years. I shall thank you to send me a rough drawing, as rough as you please, of an Arch like to the one General Conway erected at Park Place. There is an engraving of it in Robertson's Bath Road from London. I wish it to be 20 feet high and 14 feet wide, and to be built of very large rough stones, such as I have ready for it. It is to cross the high road on the point of the Turnpike leading from Hafod to the Devil's Bridge, and will be flanked by plantations of Larch".

Oct. 5th, 1806.

. I am very much obliged to you for your letter, and two charming designs for my gateway. I shall, I hope, be able to erect it in the course of the ensuing spring; but as I have room I shall increase the dimensions to 18 feet wide and 29 high".

. Aberystwyth is become so fashionable, that elopements are now quite common; and if we may gain some pecuniary advantages from this Saxon irruption, we shall lose, I fear, wofully as to our morals, etc".

This Gateway or Arch is still a prominent feature on the road between Devil's Bridge and Eglwys Newydd church.

" I offered Addington to let these 7,500 acres to a colony of Grisons [Switzers] at 1/6 an acre for three lives and 20 years after, if he would advance the 100 families £10,000 for the expenses and travelling, etc. His eyes did not see the wealth these 500 persons would bring to such a country, and [he] deserves to be cursed for it. But it was lucky for me; it would have ruined my Child and broken my heart, for I must have clung to them, and if they had not succeeded, and the chances were against them. I must have been involved. This individual loss would have made the county. Candide was a grand philosopher.

"My sale is on Monday, and a most magnificent catalogue it makes of near 200 articles. Those who love a dairy should give any price for what I dispose of. And yet perhaps so ignorant are we in these parts, they may not sell for one-third of their real value".

Henry Addington, 1st Viscount Sidmouth, was at this time President of the Council. One can hardly blame him for turning a deaf ear to Johnes's very dubious scheme of transplanting a number of Swiss mountaineers and their families to Cardiganshire, of the success of which even Johnes himself seems doubtful.

January 18th, 1807.

. You will see in the *Courier* of Wednesday and Monday a prodigious fine Estate called "The Priory" to be sold. Happy will the man be who can buy so very desirable & improvable an estate".

"The Priory" can only refer to The Priory, Cardigan, which had been bought by Johnes's father from the family of Pryse of Gogerddan in the middle of the 18th century. No doubt it was Colonel Johnes who rebuilt the house under John Nash (said to be a native of Cardigan), for he certainly employed Nash at Hafod. The Priory stands close to the church of St. Mary on the right bank of the Teifi. It was subsequently sold with its large landed estate and appurtenances to Richard Hart Davies; and in 1836 it became the property of Mr. Miles, banker, of Bristol. His grandson, Colonel Napier Miles, sold The Priory and the adjacent fields in 1897 to Dr. John W. Pritchard of London. Mrs. Emily Pritchard, his wife, was the authoress of "Cardigan Priory in the Olden Days", a handsome quarto with fine illustrations published in 1904, but a work containing a profusion of errors of every description. The house, completely modernised and altered, is now the Cardigan and District War Memorial Hospital.

The last two letters to be quoted deal with the destruction of Hafod by fire on March 13th, 1807.

"Devil's Bridge. March 22nd [1807].

My dear Sir,—I know how much you would be shocked on reading my sad disaster, & am fully sensible of your kind letter.

Indeed, I have two others to thank you for. but am now unable. The blow has been most severe, & has destroyed in three short hours the exertions of nearly thirty years: but I am thankful to God it was not worse, that my wife and family escaped unhurt, & that they are all well. I am insured, but not for half. The Agent is now here from the Imperial & British, and he gives me to understand they will act liberally. Should they do so, I shall rebuild. Otherwise, I dread to think of it. All is gone. We shall set out for London this day se'nnight. I long yet dread to leave these parts.

Always yours,

T. JOHNES".

"Devil's Bridge, March 29th [1807].

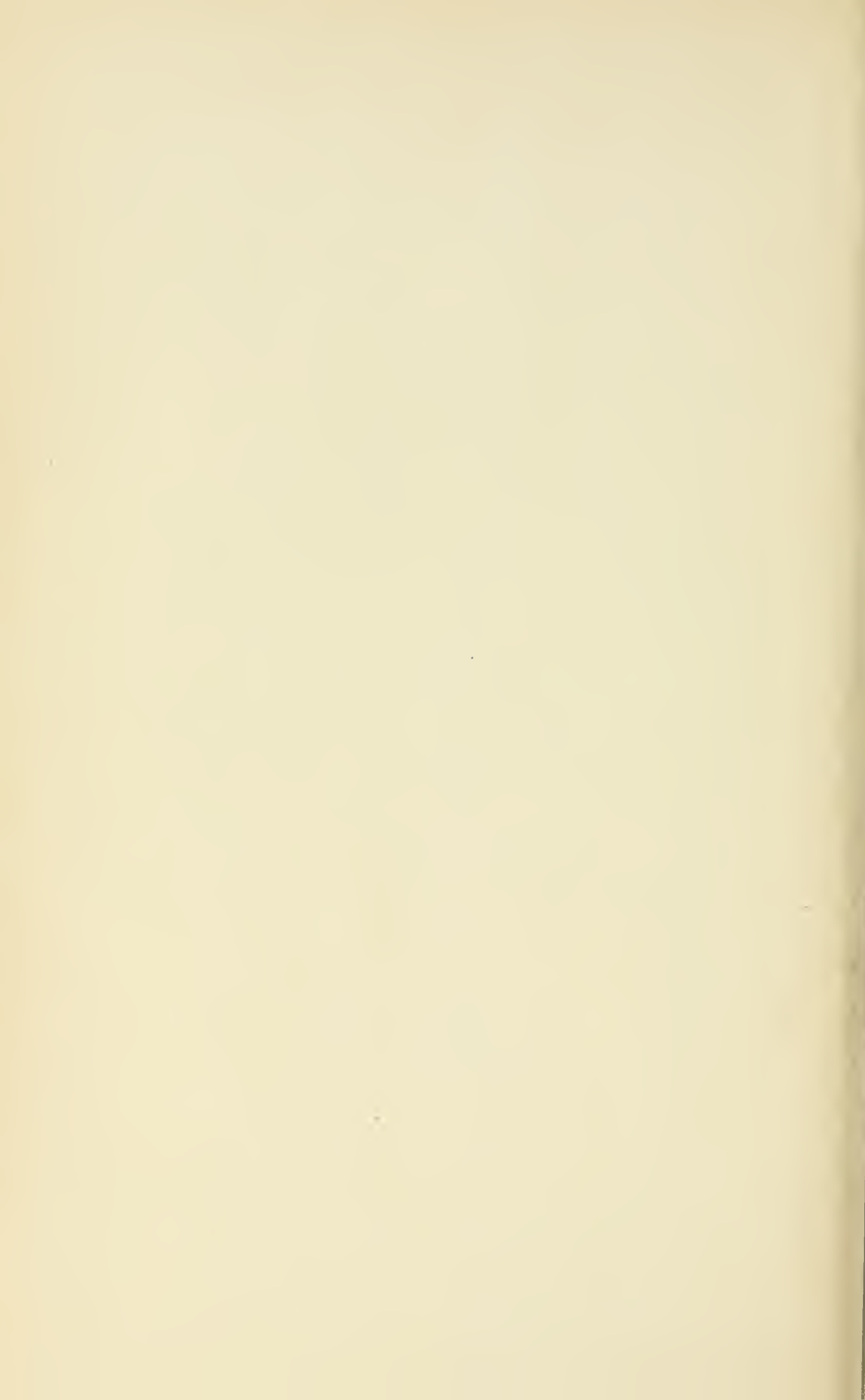
My good Friend, all may yet turn out well; and if the offices behave liberally, Hafod will be rebuilt, and though perhaps not so large, it will be more compact & handsome. But as I have formed a rigid resolution not to involve myself again, my future measures must be guided by the conduct of the offices.

The outward walls are standing, & I hope will serve; it seems by their entire appearance as if they were intended to be continued in the same design. On coming to it, there is no look of desolation, for the conservatory, wonderful to say, is in perfect preservation. All Nash's buildings are gone: and you will say, perhaps, no loss. But Baldwin's stand firm. I shall employ him again, for he is an able, and I believe, an honest man".

Thomas Baldwin of Bath had built the first house in 1785. It is interesting to observe that Johnes had a poor opinion of John Nash's work. Nash, the architect of Buckingham Palace and of Regent Street, had erected many buildings in West Wales, including the Gaol at Cardigan, The Priory, Ffynone, Llysnewydd and other local mansions. His fondness for plaster ornamentation was satirized in a contemporary epigram:

"Augustus at Rome was for building renowned,
For of marble he left what of brick he had found.
But is not our Nash, too, a very great master?
He finds us all brick, and he leaves us all plaster".





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